

*Morvin A. Sweezy*  
**JOURNAL OF**  
**Near Eastern Studies**

---

**VOLUME 50 • JANUARY 1991 • NUMBER 1**

**ONE HUNDRED-EIGHTH YEAR**



**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS • U.S.A.**



# JOURNAL OF Near Eastern Studies

Continuing THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

HEBRAICA, VOLS. I-XI, 1884-1895

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND  
LITERATURES, VOLS. XII-LVIII, 1895-1941

ROBERT D. BIGGS, *Editor*

L. PAULA WOODS, *Assistant Editor*

JANUARY 1991

Volume 50 Number 1

## COPYING BEYOND FAIR USE

The code on the first page of an article in this journal indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made beyond those permitted by Sections 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law provided that copies are made only for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients and provided that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc. Operations Center, 27 Congress Street, Salem, Massachusetts 01970. To request permission for other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale, kindly write to the publisher. If no code appears on the first page of an article, permission to reprint may be obtained only from the author.

## MANUSCRIPT ACCEPTANCE POLICY

While it is our policy to require the assignment of copyright on most journal articles, we do not usually request assignment of copyright for other contributions. Although the copyright to such a contribution may remain with the author, it is understood that, in return for publication, the journal has the nonexclusive right to publish the contribution and the continuing right, without limit, to include the contribution as part of any reprinting of the issue and/or volume of the journal in which the contribution first appeared by any means and in any format, including computer assisted storage and readout, in which the issue and/or volume may be produced.

## EDITORIAL POLICY

The editors are interested in articles pertaining to the history and literature of the ancient and premodern Near East.

We consider sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. If photographs are submitted with an article, they should be no larger than 5"×7" and should be glossy prints.

Authors are responsible for securing permissions to utilize photographs or other copyrighted illustrations in their articles. All drawings and diagrams should also be no larger than 5"×7". Authors should submit an original and a copy and retain a copy for security. In matters of capitalization, punctuation, abbreviations, and the like, the journal follows the guides in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 13th ed., rev. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

**Journal of Near Eastern Studies** (ISSN 0022-2968) is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by the University of Chicago at The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637. ¶ Subscription rates: individuals, U.S.A.: 1 year \$30.00. Institutions, U.S.A.: 1 year \$60.00. Student subscription rate: U.S.A.: 1 year \$22.00 (letter from professor must accompany subscription). Other countries add \$4.00 for each year's subscription to cover postage. Japanese subscription agent: Kinokuniya Co., Ltd. Single copy rates: individuals \$7.25, institutions \$13.50. Back issues available from 1965 (vol. 24). Special issues: *Erich F. Schmidt Memorial Issue* (vol. 24, nos. 3-4) \$6.75; *XVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (vol. 27, no. 3), \$6.75; *Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Keith C. Seele* (vol. 32, nos. 1-2) \$6.75; *The Chicago Colloquium on Aramaic Studies* (vol. 37, no. 2) \$6.75. Single issues and reprinted volumes, through 1964 (vols. 1-23) available from Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 355 Chestnut Street, Norwood, New Jersey 07648. Volumes available in microfilm from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106; in microcard from J. S. Canner & Co., 49-65 Lansdowne Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02215 or Johnson Associates, P.O. Box 1017, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830. Orders for service of less than a full volume will be charged at the single issue rate. Postage prepaid by the publishers on all cash orders. ¶ Subscriptions payable in advance. Please make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

**Claims for missing numbers** should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

**Business correspondence** should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

**Communications for the editors**, manuscripts, and books for review should be addressed to the Editor of JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

**The articles** in this journal are indexed in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index* and *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (American Theological Library Association, Chicago), available online through BRS (Bibliographic Retrieval Services), Latham, New York and DIALOG, Palo Alto, California.

**Notice to subscribers:** If you change your address, please notify us and your local postmaster immediately of both old and new addresses. *Please allow four weeks for the change.* (Postmaster: send address change to Journal of Near Eastern Studies, P. O. Box 37005, Chicago, Illinois 60637).

Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois, and at additional mailing point.

© 1991 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### ARTICLES

HARALD MOTZKI. The <i>Muṣannaf</i> of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī as a Source of Authentic <i>Aḥādīth</i> of the First Century A.H. ....	1
DWIGHT W. YOUNG. The Incredible Regnal Spans of Kish I in the Sumerian King List .....	23
SCOTT C. LAYTON. A New Interpretation of an Edomite Seal Impression .....	37
ROBERT R. STIEGLITZ. The City of Amurru .....	45

### BOOK REVIEWS

LEONARD H. LESKO, ed. <i>Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker Presented on the Occasion of His 78th Birthday December 10, 1983</i> (William A. Ward) .....	49
DONALD B. REDFORD. <i>Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History</i> (William A. Ward) .....	51
T. G. H. JAMES. <i>Ancient Egypt: The Land and Its Legacy</i> (William A. Ward) ...	53
GÜNTER BURKARD. <i>Grabung im Asasif: 1963-1970. Vol. 3. Die Papyrusfunde (nach Vorarbeiten von Dino Bidoli)</i> (Edmund S. Meltzer) .....	54
PATRICK F. HOULIHAN and STEVEN M. GOODMAN. <i>The Birds of Ancient Egypt</i> (Edmund S. Meltzer and Tova S. Meltzer) .....	55
RAPHAEL GIDEON and TRUDE KERTESZ. <i>Egyptian Scarabs and Seals from Acco: From the Collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums</i> (Sigfried H. Horn) .....	55
ERIC DORET. <i>The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian</i> (Antonio Loprieno) .....	56
MARTIN KRAUSE, ed. <i>Nubische Studien: Tagungsakten der 5. internationalen Konferenz der International Society for Nubian Studies, Heidelberg, 22.-25. September 1982</i> (Bruce Williams) .....	59
TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, ed. <i>Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia: The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae, and Other Sites</i> (Bruce Williams) .....	60
WILLIAM G. HUPPER. <i>An Index to English Periodical Literature on the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Vols. 1 and 2</i> (Robert D. Biggs) ....	61

SIMO PARPOLA. <i>The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part 1: Letters from Assyria and the West</i> (Robert D. Biggs) .....	62
ABRAHAM J. SACHS† and HERMANN HUNGER. <i>Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia. Vol. 1. Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.</i> (Robert D. Biggs) .....	63
MARC VAN DE MIEROOP. <i>Sumerian Administrative Documents from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilišu</i> (Hermann Behrens) .....	65
ABRAHAM NEGEV. <i>The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery of Nabatean Oboda: Final Report</i> (Zbigniew T. Fiema) .....	66
ZECHARIA KALLAI. <i>Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel</i> (Diana Edelman) .....	69
JAVIER TEIXIDOR. <i>Un Port romain du désert: Palmyre et son commerce d'Auguste à Caracalla</i> (David Kennedy) .....	73
H. I. H. PRINCE TAKAHITO MIKASA. <i>Essays on Anatolian Studies in the Second Millennium B.C.</i> (Gary Beckman) .....	76
<i>Books Received</i> .....	77



THE MUṢANNAF OF ʿABD AL-RAZZĀQ AL-ṢANʿĀNĪ  
AS A SOURCE OF AUTHENTIC AḤĀDĪTH OF  
THE FIRST CENTURY A.H.\*

HARALD MOTZKI, Universität Hamburg

I

THE question of when and where *aḥādīth*—especially those of the Prophet—arose is nearly as old as the *ḥadīth* itself. Muslim scholars tried generally, but not exclusively, to check the path of transmission of the traditions (*isnād*) and the transmitters (*rijāl*) mentioned in each *isnād*. Western studies of Islam since the second half of the nineteenth century have pointed out that this method of *ḥadīth* criticism is unreliable and have concentrated on the content of the text when judging the authenticity of a *ḥadīth*. Ignaz Goldziher's thesis that the traditions ascribed to the Prophet and the Companions (*ṣaḥāba*) contained in the classical collections of *aḥādīth* are not authentic reports of these persons but rather reflect the doctrinal and political developments of the first two centuries after Muḥammad's death<sup>1</sup> is based primarily on analysis of the content of the *ḥadīth* (*matn*) and not the transmitters.

Joseph Schacht, too, when trying to date *aḥādīth*, first studied their contents and classified them within the framework of the development of the issue to which they refer.<sup>2</sup> He considered criteria from the *asānīd* only secondarily and only if they were consistent with the chronology first arrived at after consulting the contents (*mutūn*). Otherwise, he rejected the information of the *asānīd* as false or fabricated. Like Goldziher, Schacht proposed general statements concerning the time when certain groups of traditions and types of transmissions originated. He regarded these general conclusions on the development of the *ḥadīth* not as heuristic assumptions, but as historical facts, and he did not limit his conclusions to the legal *aḥādīth* on which he had based his theories.<sup>3</sup>

The low esteem in which Goldziher and Schacht held the *isnād* and Muslim *isnād* criticism in tackling the problem of dating *aḥādīth* was challenged by a research approach which may be called "tradition-historical" ("überlieferungsgeschichtlich"). This approach, familiar in Western Islamic studies since the work of Julius Wellhausen, tries to extract earlier sources from the compilations we have at hand, which are not preserved as separate works, and it focuses on the materials of certain transmitters

\* The German version of this paper was presented at the Colloquium on Ḥadīth and Historiography held in Oxford in September 1988. I thank

Fred Donner and L. Paula Woods for their help in revising my English translation.

<sup>1</sup> See I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888–90), vol. 2, p. 5 and passim.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Schacht, "A Revaluation of Islamic Tradition," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 49 (1949): 143–54, esp. 147; idem, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), p. 1 and passim.

<sup>3</sup> See n. 2 above.

rather than on *ḥadīth* clusters dealing with specific topics. The source-analytical works of Heribert Horst, Georg Stauth, Fuad Sezgin, and others<sup>4</sup> suggest that Goldziher and especially Schacht, viewed the *isnād* too skeptically and that they generalized too quickly from single observations. The tradition-historical method, however, runs the risk of overestimating the historical value of the *isnād*, as Schacht rightly emphasized in connection with the work of Leone Caetani.<sup>5</sup>

In this article, I will once again address the source-analytical and tradition-historical approaches and try to show how we can ascertain whether, or to what degree, the chains of transmission of *aḥādīth* are reliable. A few valuable source-analytical studies exist in the field of *tafsīr*,<sup>6</sup> but I will show in what follows that the issue can also be examined successfully in the realm of legal traditions, those on which the *ḥadīth* theories of Schacht depend. As did Schacht,<sup>7</sup> I maintain that the methods used and the results obtained in this special area of traditions apply, in principle, in other areas as well, for example, in the realm of historical traditions.<sup>8</sup>

## II

Among the many existing *ḥadīth* compilations, the *Muṣannaf* of the Yemenite ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/826) is, for reasons which will be explained below, especially well suited for a source-analytical approach. This work, the eleven-volume edition of which is based on the rare manuscripts of it which survive,<sup>9</sup> admittedly raises some questions regarding completeness and original composition because it is compiled from different *riwāyāt* (transmissions). Ninety percent of it, however, goes back to one single transmitter, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabārī (d. 285/898). He probably received it in written form from his father, a pupil of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, but skipped his father in the *riwāya* because he had, or claimed to have had, an *ijāza* (permission to transmit) for the *Muṣannaf* from ʿAbd al-Razzāq himself, having attended his lectures as a child together with his father. Ishāq was six or seven years old when ʿAbd al-Razzāq died.<sup>10</sup> The great age difference between ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ishāq al-Dabārī does not seem to effect the validity of his transmission, at least for a historian. There is no hint that Ishāq fabricated the texts *in toto* or even partially and ascribed them to ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Other than a few rare notes of transmitters, ʿAbd al-Razzāq must be considered the real author of the *Muṣannaf*.

Even a cursory reading of the work reveals that most of its books (*kutub*) contain materials said to come mainly from three persons: Maʿmar, Ibn Jurayj, and ath-

<sup>4</sup> H. Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar at-Tabarīs," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 103 (1953): 290–307; G. Stauth, *Die Überlieferung des Korankommentars Muḡāhid b. Gabrs* (Gießen, 1969); F. Sezgin, *Buhārī'nin kaynakları hakkında araştırmalar* (Istanbul, 1956).

<sup>5</sup> Schacht, "Revaluation," p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> See n. 4 above.

<sup>7</sup> Schacht, "Revaluation," pp. 148, 150 f.

<sup>8</sup> The arguments covered in this article are more fully developed and documented in my forthcoming book *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz—*

*Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2./8. Jahrhunderts*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 50, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1990).

<sup>9</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *Al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Habīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, 11 vols. (Simlak, 1391/1972).

<sup>10</sup> Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, ed. M. B. al-Naʿsānī (Cairo 1325/1907), vol. 1, p. 58; Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān* (Hyderabad, 1329–31), vol. 1, pp. 349 f.; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt: Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn b. Aibak* (Wiesbaden, 1972), vol. 6, pp. 394 f.



Thawrī. Exceptions are the books *al-Maghāzī* and *al-Jāmiʿ*, which are overwhelmingly composed of texts from Maʿmar, and the *Kitāb al-Buyūʿ*, where transmissions from Ibn Jurayj occur only rarely. On the basis of a representative sample of 3,810 single traditions—comprising 21 percent of the relevant sections of the entire work<sup>11</sup>—the supposed origins of the texts transmitted by ʿAbd al-Razzāq can be more exactly defined: 32 percent of the material comes from Maʿmar, 29 percent from Ibn Jurayj, and 22 percent from ath-Thawrī. Transmissions from Ibn ʿUyayna (4 percent) follow. The remaining 13 percent of the texts are said to stem from about 90 different persons (from each only 1 percent or less), among them famous legal scholars of the second century A.H. such as Abū Ḥanīfa (0.7 percent) and Mālik (0.6 percent).

If the particulars ʿAbd al-Razzāq gives about the origin of his material are correct, then the work is compiled from three large sources which are themselves made up of several thousand traditions. The enormous size of the supposed sources suggests that we may be dealing with either originally independent works—or at least parts of them—or with the contents of the teachings of the three named authorities who could, judging from their age, be teachers of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, or both. On the other hand, we cannot rule out a priori the possibility that ʿAbd al-Razzāq generally fabricated the information on the origin of his material and attributed it fictitiously to these people. Which of these two hypotheses is the more probable could perhaps be decided with the help of biographical and bibliographical reports about the persons in question. But since the reliability of such reports is no more certain than that of the statements of our author, we have to find a solution from the work of ʿAbd al-Razzāq itself. The clue to it can be found by analyzing the four largest clusters, or complexes, of transmissions in a bit greater depth.

Let us suppose that ʿAbd al-Razzāq had arbitrarily ascribed his material to the four above-mentioned informants: Maʿmar, Ibn Jurayj, ath-Thawrī, and Ibn ʿUyayna. If this were the case, we would expect that the transmission structure of these four groups of texts would be similar because they were put together at random—a procedure that Schacht proposed for certain links in the *asānīd*.<sup>12</sup> As background, I have summarized below the information on the origins attributed to the traditions contained in the four groups of texts.

1. In the group of texts which allegedly came from Maʿmar [b. Rāshid], 28 percent of the material is said to stem from al-Zuhrī, 25 percent from Qatāda [b. Diʿāma], 11 percent from Ayyūb [b. Abī Tamīma], a little more than 6 percent from anonymous persons, and 5 percent from Ibn Ṭawūs. Maʿmar's own statements amount to only 1 percent. The rest (24 percent) is distributed among 77 names.<sup>13</sup>

2. In the group of transmissions ascribed to Ibn Jurayj, 39 percent is supposed to go back to ʿAṭāʾ [b. Abī Rabāḥ], 8 percent to unnamed persons, 7 percent to ʿAmr b. Dīnār, 6 percent to Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī], and 5 percent to Ibn Ṭawūs. Assertions by Ibn Jurayj himself amount to only 1 percent, and the remaining 37 percent is spread among 103 persons.

<sup>11</sup> The three "atypical" books had been left out.

<sup>12</sup> See Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 163 ff.

<sup>13</sup> The calculations are based on the sample mentioned on p. 2 of this article.

3. In the material said to have been received from ath-Thawrī, his own legal opinions dominate, representing 19 percent of the total, followed by texts from Maṣṣūr [b. al-Muṭtamir] (7 percent) and Jābir [b. Yazīd] (6 percent), and from anonymous persons (3 percent). The remaining 65 percent is said to come from 161 different authorities or informants.

4. The texts put under the name of Ibn ʿUyayna consist of up to 23 percent of transmissions from ʿAmr b. Dīnār; 9 percent are said to come from Ibn Abī Najīḥ, 8 percent from Yahyā b. Saʿīd [al-Anṣārī], 6 percent from Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid; 3 to 4 percent of the texts are anonymous, and the remainder (50 percent) is said to come from 37 persons. There is no *raʿy* (opinion) of Ibn ʿUyayna himself.

These profiles indicate that each of these four collections of texts has quite an individual character. It seems very improbable that a forger arranging material in a specific order and labeling them falsely would have produced such highly divergent collections. Besides, we have to bear in mind that these profiles are no more than coarse grids and that differences emerge the more we go into details and ask, for instance, about the geographic origins of the authorities or informants, formal peculiarities of the texts, etc. The investigation of the transmission structures of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's *Muṣannaf* leads, therefore, to the conclusion that the materials he places under the name of his four main authorities are genuine sources, not the result of fictitious attributions which he has invented himself.

There are several other formal features of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's presentation of transmissions that indicate that they are authentic. One of these is the fact that he is sometimes uncertain about the precise origin of a tradition and that he admits this openly. In one case, for instance, a tradition is introduced by: "ʿAbd al-Razzāq from ath-Thawrī from Mughīra or someone else—Abū Bakr [i.e., ʿAbd al-Razzāq] was uncertain about it—from Ibrāhīm, who said: . . . ." <sup>14</sup> An actual forger would surely not express such doubts, since it would undermine his main purpose, that of forging a definite and uninterrupted transmission from an acknowledged authority. Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Razzāq gives the impression that he received thousands of texts directly from Ibn Jurayj, ath-Thawrī, and Maṣṣar. This could be untrue, but if so, we may ask why we also find *asānīd* such as "ʿAbd al-Razzāq from ath-Thawrī from Ibn Jurayj . . ." <sup>15</sup> or—more rarely—"ʿAbd al-Razzāq from Ibn Jurayj from ath-Thawrī . . ." <sup>16</sup> or "ʿAbd al-Razzāq from ath-Thawrī from Maṣṣar . . ." <sup>17</sup> The fact that there are also *indirect* transmissions from his main authorities supports my argument still further. The origin of his material is not arbitrary; but he specifically labels the source the tradition comes from.

Forgery seems still more unlikely because there are also anonymous transmissions by ʿAbd al-Razzāq from authorities for whom he cites, in most cases, one of his main informants as a source. Two examples state "ʿAbd al-Razzāq from a Medinese *shaykh* who said: I heard Ibn Shihāb report from . . ." or "ʿAbd al-Razzāq from a man (*rajl*)

<sup>14</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, no. 11825.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, no. 10984.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 11682; vol. 7, nos. 12631, 13020, and 13607.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 10798.



from Ḥammād from . . . ”<sup>18</sup> Such *asānīd* are strange because, in general, ʿAbd al-Razzāq receives Ibn Shihāb’s traditions from Ibn Jurayj or Maʿmar and Ḥammād’s material from ath-Thawrī or Maʿmar.

Let us turn to the biographical literature; as noted above, this material requires a separate treatment for methodological reasons, since the authenticity of the biographical traditions is as controversial as that of the *aḥādīth* and early legal texts. According to the biographical literature, at the age of eighteen, ʿAbd al-Razzāq attended the lectures of the Meccan scholar Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767) when the latter visited the Yemen, probably in 144/761–62.<sup>19</sup> Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770) is said to have been ʿAbd al-Razzāq’s most important teacher. Baṣran by origin, he later lived at Ṣanʿāʾ, the birthplace of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He studied seven to eight years with Maʿmar, probably from 145/762–63 until his death in 153/770.<sup>20</sup> The Kufan Sufyān ath-Thawrī (d. 161/778) was in Yemen in the year 149/766,<sup>21</sup> and the Meccan scholar Sufyān b. ʿUyayna (d. 198/814) was there in 150/767 and 152/769.<sup>22</sup> It is quite likely that on these occasions ʿAbd al-Razzāq received the bulk of the material transmitted from these authorities. The statements in the biographical literature about ʿAbd al-Razzāq’s teachers thus coincides broadly with our findings from the *Muṣannaḥ* itself, the main sources of his work.

In addition, it is important to keep in mind that these four, ʿAbd al-Razzāq’s most important teachers, are numbered among the first authors of works of a similar type. They are regarded as the pioneers of *muṣannaḥ* literature. Ibn Jurayj, probably one of the first *muṣannaḥ* authors, is said to have compiled a book called *Kitāb al-Sunan*; ath-Thawrī, the *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr* and *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*; and Ibn ʿUyayna, the *Kitāb al-Jawāmiʿ fī l-sunan wa-l-abwāb*.<sup>23</sup> There are no titles of Maʿmar’s books preserved in biographical or bibliographical literature, as far as I know. All these works seem to be lost, but it is obvious that they must have been the sources from which ʿAbd al-Razzāq compiled his *Muṣannaḥ*. The fact that the author of the *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ*, which is attached to the *Muṣannaḥ*, is not ʿAbd al-Razzāq himself but without doubt his teacher Maʿmar further supports my argument.

This evidence leads to the conclusion that the the bulk of the *Muṣannaḥ* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq is a compilation of texts from older works of varying size, which can be

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., vol. 7, nos. 12795 and 13622.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Taqdīm al-maʿrifa li-kitāb al-jarḥ wa-t-taʿdīl* (Hyderabad, 1371/1952), pp. 52 f.; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325–27), vol. 6, pp. 311–12. Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān*, vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>20</sup> See Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa-t-taʿdīl* (Hyderabad, 1371–73/1952–53), vol. 3, p. 38; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīrat al-ḥuffāz* (Hyderabad, 1375), vol. 1, p. 364; idem, *Mizān*, vol. 2, p. 126 (instead of ʿUmar it has to be read Maʿmar).

<sup>21</sup> See Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau et al. (Leiden, 1905–17), vol. 5, p. 365 (biography of Ibn ʿUyayna; source of information is Ibn ʿUyayna); Adh-Dhahabī, *Tahdhīra*, vol. 1, p. 346 (biography of Hishām b. Yūsuf; source: Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 311 and 313.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, p. 365.

<sup>23</sup> See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo, 1348), pp. 315–16. According to him, Ibn ʿUyayna did not have a book but, rather, that people could only hear him speak. This does not necessarily mean that he did not write his transmissions down, but only that he did not use a book in his lectures and/or did not place a book at his pupil’s disposal for copying. There are works ascribed to him which, therefore, must be records of his lectures made by his pupils: a *Tafsīr* (see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 316) and a *Kitāb al-Jawāmiʿ fī l-sunan wa-l-abwāb* (see Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb* [Cairo, 1961], vol. 1, p. 324 and Sezgin, *Buḥārī’nın kaynakları*, p. 42). For Maʿmar’s *Jāmiʿ*, see Sezgin, “*Hadis musannefatının mebd’i ve Maʿmer b. Rāşid’in ‘Cāmi’i*,” *Türkiyat* 12 (1955): 115–34.

reconstructed, at least partly, from the *asānīd* of the texts. ʿAbd al-Razzāq acquired his four main sources between the years 144/671 and 153/770. They were composed in the course of the first half of the second century A.H. and are among the oldest known compilations of *aḥādīth* and legal texts of relatively large size.

### III

The question now is whether we can prove the authenticity of the materials contained in ʿAbd al-Razzāq's principal sources. This has to be decided for each source separately. For a trial solution, however, I have chosen the transmission of the Meccan scholar Ibn Jurayj which covers about one third of the entire *Muṣannaf*.<sup>24</sup> From these more than 5,000 traditions, a representative selection of about 20 percent was examined.<sup>25</sup> The following conclusions are based on this sample.

According to the information Ibn Jurayj gives about the origin of his material, it is distributed among different authorities in a rather striking way. The largest part, about 39 percent, is said to come from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ. The following five scholars taken together compose 25 percent: ʿAmr b. Dīnār (7 percent), Ibn Shihāb (6 percent), Ibn Ṭāwus (5 percent), Abū l-Zubayr (4 percent), and ʿAbd al-Karīm (3 percent). The next five together constitute only 8 percent: Hishām b. ʿUrwa and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (2 percent each), Ibn Abī Mulayka, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb (between 1.5 and 1 percent each). Another group of ten names compose 7 percent, each only between 1 and 0.5 percent. The remaining 20 percent come from 86 persons, each with very few texts. Ibn Jurayj's own legal opinions are rare (1 percent).

This strange distribution of authorities in the work of Ibn Jurayj argues—in my view—against the suggestion, which cannot be ruled out a priori, that he is a forger who projects his own *raʾy* and the accepted legal opinions and practices in Mecca during his lifetime backwards onto the preceding generation of scholars. Why would he have made the work of forgery so difficult for himself? Is it not more plausible to expect that a forger would mention only one, or at most a few, of the most famous older *fuqahāʾ*, and these more or less with the same frequency? Why would he have run the risk of having the entire forgery detected by introducing a host of additional minor informants?

There may be still another reasonable interpretation for the varied distribution of Ibn Jurayj's authorities: the Meccan *faqīh* ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 115/733) could have been the teacher of Ibn Jurayj over a longer period of time. Since he was the oldest of his more important authorities—this conclusion arrived at by their dates of death—I believe that he probably was his first teacher. After ʿAṭāʾ's death, or even during his lifetime, Ibn Jurayj may have heard the lectures of other—somewhat younger—scholars of Mecca, such as ʿAmr b. Dīnār and Abū l-Zubayr. He may also have sought *ʿilm* from scholars who lived not permanently in his city, such as the Medinese Ibn Shihāb and others, or with whom he may have come in contact while they were in Mecca for the *ḥajj*. He may have traveled to them or have acquired copies of their lectures from their pupils. In my opinion, the high number of sporadic authorities and informants

<sup>24</sup> See p. 2 above.

<sup>25</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vols. 6–7, nos.



can be explained by his living in Mecca, which as the place of the pilgrimage gave him many opportunities to meet scholars from all over the Islamic world, and this picture coincides with what we read in the biographical literature.

If Ibn Jurayj had been a forger who ascribed his texts more or less arbitrarily to certain older authorities, we would expect that the materials summarized under the different names would not be essentially different from each other, at least formally. But if one studies the transmissions from his 21 most frequently cited authorities and informants—these amount to 79 percent of the entire source—it becomes clear that the differences are so significant that we have to regard them as coming from distinct and different sources. The divergences in these groups of transmission ascribed by Ibn Jurayj to different individuals can be observed on several levels.

1. The proportion of *raʿy* to traditions in the said sources or in the texts of their principal authority varies substantially. The ratio of *raʿy* is, for example, 80 percent in the material of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, 85 percent in Ibn Ṭāwūs from Ṭāwūs, 42 percent in Ibn Shihāb, 42 percent in ʿAmr b. Dīnār, 40 percent in Ibn ʿUrwa from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, 30 percent in Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd from Ibn al-Musayyab, and 31 percent in ʿAbd al-Karīm. Others such as ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, Sulayman b. Mūsā, Ibn Abī Mulayka, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba, rarely or never cite their own legal opinions.

2. There are remarkable variations, too, if we look at the relationship between Ibn Jurayj's informant and the main authority of that informant and the number of accounts transmitted from him. In some cases, the relationship was that of a pupil to his teacher, as in the cases of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ and Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAmr b. Dīnār and Abū l-Shaʿthāʾ, Abū l-Zubayr and Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd and Ibn al-Musayyab, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba and Nāfiʿ. But there are also other relationships, such as the transmission by a son from his father, as in the cases of Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ṭāwūs, Hishām b. ʿUrwa and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. There are traditions of a *mawlā* which come from his patron, as in the case of Nāfiʿ and Ibn ʿUmar. Some of these pairs are almost exclusive, that is, the younger informant transmits only material from the respective master or father and from nobody else; this is the case with Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ṭāwūs, Ibn ʿUrwa and ʿUrwa, Mūsā b. ʿUqba and Nāfiʿ, and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Others rely more or less heavily, but not exclusively, on their most important teacher, for example, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, ʿAmr b. Dīnār, Abū l-Zubayr, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, and Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma. In addition, there are sources where such relationships of pupil/teacher or son/father do not dominate the transmission but in which we find either many different authorities—as in the case of Ibn Shihāb, Sulaymān b. Mūsā, and others—or a choice which focuses on a certain region or on a certain group of authorities, a phenomenon that can be observed, for instance, in the cases of ʿAbd al-Karīm, ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī, ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, and Ibn Abī Mulayka.

3. Ibn Jurayj's sources vary considerably in their proportions of traditions from the Prophet, the *ṣaḥāba*, and the *tābiʿūn*. Only one transmission, that of ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, contains mainly prophetic *aḥādīth*. In other collections, the proportion of this type of transmission oscillates between 20 and 30 percent, as, for example, in that of ʿAṭāʾ b.

Abī Rabāḥ, Abū l-Zubayr, Ibn Abī Mulayka, Ibn Shihāb, Hishām b. ʿUrwa, and ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī. Some have only a few or no prophetic traditions at all, such as ʿAmr b. Dīnār, Ibn Ṭāwūs, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, ʿAbd al-Karīm, and Nāfiʿ. High proportions of *ṣaḥāba* traditions can be found in the works of ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, Abū l-Zubayr, Ibn Abī Mulayka, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Nāfiʿ, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, ʿAbd al-Karīm, and ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī; the proportions are only between 35 and 45 percent with ʿAmr b. Dīnār, Ibn Shihāb, and Hishām b. ʿUrwa, and there is a remarkably low percentage in ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb's and Ibn Ṭāwūs's work, the transmission of the latter containing mainly *tābiʿūn* material. Regarding Ibn Jurayj's other authorities, the texts from *tābiʿūn* reach only a ratio of 30 to 40 percent, as in the case of ʿAmr b. Dīnār, Hishām b. ʿUrwa, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, and ʿAbd al-Karīm. Many fewer *tābiʿūn* texts are found in the collections of Ibn Shihāb, Abū l-Zubayr, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, Ibn Abī Mulayka, and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, and none are found in the Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Nāfiʿ, and ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī collections.

4. The use of the *isnād*, or the mentioning of informants for traditions, varies in the several sources of Ibn Jurayj. *Asānīd* from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ and Ibn Ṭāwūs occur very rarely, the occurrence of *asānīd* in the transmissions from Ibn Abī Mulayka, ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, ʿAbd al-Karīm, and ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī is under 50 percent. They are frequent, however, in the materials of the Medinese, such as Ibn Shihāb, Hishām b. ʿUrwa, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba, but also in that of the Meccans ʿAmr b. Dīnār and Abū l-Zubayr; one of these generally exhibits some Medinan influences, and the other is known to have Medinan origin.

5. Considerable differences are to be observed when checking the terminology of transmission, that is, how Ibn Jurayj quotes his sources. The use of the word “*an*,” for instance, varies between never in the case of Ibn Abī Mulayka and 60 to 80 percent in the transmissions of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb. Between these extremes lie transmissions with relatively few *an* traditions, such as those of Abū l-Zubayr and ʿAmr b. Dīnār, and others that show a frequency between 30 and 45 percent, such as those of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, Ibn Shihāb, Ibn Ṭāwūs, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, and ʿAbd al-Karīm. There are similar fluctuations in the use of the formula “*samiʿtu*.” With some of his authorities, Ibn Jurayj does not use it at all; with others, he uses it sporadically. Sometimes, however, it appears frequently, as in the traditions of Ibn Abī Mulayka. Similar preferences for certain terms of transmission are to be found in the work of some of Ibn Jurayj's authorities too, for example, the nearly exclusive use of *samiʿtu* by Abū l-Zubayr. The heterogenous structure of transmission speaks, in the final analysis, against the suggestion that it might be possible to decide, on the basis of the transmission terminology, the question of whether the material was received in oral or written form. In the case of Ibn Jurayj's transmission, such conclusions are generally not safe, except in the odd case, such as that of Mujāhid.

The above are the five most important levels by which the differences among the several chains of transmissions can be formally described. They indicate that each source has an individual character. This clearly contradicts the assumption that Ibn Jurayj produced all the characteristic variations, fabricated the texts himself, projected them back on older authorities, or forged the transmission chains or parts of them. Such a diversity can hardly be the result of systematic forgery, but, rather, must have



developed over the course of time. We must, therefore—until the contrary is proven—start from the assumption that the traditions for which Ibn Jurayj expressly states a person as his source really came from that informant, and thus Ibn Jurayj's transmission, in my opinion, should be regarded as authentic.

There are common explanations adopted by critics to reject the authenticity of a transmission in such a case. For example, it could be maintained that the respective transmitter—in our case Ibn Jurayj—was not the actual forger, or only the partial forger, but that the forgery was the work of others, his contemporaries perhaps, those from whom he actually took the material and then called it his own. Another explanation might be that a later author arbitrarily used his name. These are the sort of arguments Schacht proposed: "The bulk of the traditions which go under his [Nāfiʿ's] name must be credited to anonymous traditionists in the first half of the second century A.H."<sup>26</sup> But suggesting as an explanation for the contradictions in a transmission that instead of a single transmitter named in the text that many anonymous forgers must have been at work cannot be accepted as a scholarly sound argument because it shifts the problem from the level of facts, which can be checked, to the sphere of speculation. I do not argue against the possibility that there were forgers of *aḥādīth* and *asānīd* in the first and second centuries of Islam. It is indeed one of the most important tasks of the historian to detect if in fact texts and transmission chains were fabricated, and if so, where, how, and why it was done. Schacht himself pointed to the fact, already well known to Muslim *ḥadīth* critics, that the *asānīd* of later collections are much better and more complete than those of the older ones. This is one possible point of departure in the attempt to unmask forgeries of and improvements on *asānīd* and their authors. But the mere fact that *aḥādīth* and *asānīd* were forged must not lead us to conclude that all of them are fictitious or that the genuine and the spurious cannot be distinguished with some degree of certainty.

The study of one chain of transmission in an early collection of traditions, i.e., the material of Ibn Jurayj in the *Muṣannaḥ* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, shows that it is indeed possible to separate trustworthy from suspicious traditions or texts of uncertain reliability. A comparison of this early state of transmission (first half of the second century A.H.) with that of the more recent collections of the second half of the third century and later could certainly give insights into the extent of fabrication, the forgers, and their motives. This is certainly a topic for future research.<sup>27</sup>

#### IV

The reliability of Ibn Jurayj and the authenticity of his sources can be further examined. To demonstrate, I have chosen the largest of his sources, i.e., his transmission from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ. At first, it is striking that this material consists of

<sup>26</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, p. 179 and *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll has recently tackled the question of the authenticity of the *ḥadīth* anew. He has concentrated on the biographical material, especially that of Ibn Ḥajar, and the *aḥādīth* of the Prophet as preserved in the classical and other collections of the third century A.H. and later. See his *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cam-

bridge, 1983). His research has produced many valuable results, especially concerning the extension and the techniques of *isnād* falsification, partly known even to the Muslim scholars themselves. But he has treated the early *muṣannaḥ* works such as that of ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ibn Abī Shayba quite harshly. In my opinion, they offer us many interesting new ideas, as will be argued in this article.

texts of two different genres which appear with nearly the same frequency. One half of the texts may be classified as *responsa*, the other half as *dicta*. By *responsa*, I mean answers of ʿAṭāʾ on questions of Ibn Jurayj himself or anyone else, named or unnamed. *Dicta* are defined as statements of ʿAṭāʾ which are not preceded by a question. Both genres contain opinions (*raʾy*) of ʿAṭāʾ himself or traditions from others (*aḥādīth*, *āthār*).

By far the largest number of the *responsa* consist of the answers of ʿAṭāʾ to Ibn Jurayj's own questions. Anonymous questions do not amount to 10 percent, and those from other named persons are very rare. The *responsa* are dominated by ʿAṭāʾ's own *raʾy*, whereas the traditions have a frequency in this genre of only 10 percent. Among the *dicta*, the difference is not so marked; here the proportion of *raʾy* to traditions is 70 to 30 percent. Comparing the ratio of these two principal genres in ʿAṭāʾ, 50:50, to the material of other important authorities of Ibn Jurayj, a remarkable result emerges: among the texts of ʿAmr b. Dīnār, the proportion of *responsa* is only 9 percent (exclusively on questions of Ibn Jurayj); among that of Ibn Shihāb about 14 percent (here only 1.5 percent on questions of Ibn Jurayj!); from Ibn Ṭāwūs, 5.5 percent are reported; from ʿAbd al-Karīm, 8 percent *responsa* (all on questions of Ibn Jurayj); and from Abū l-Zubayr, there is not even one *responsum*.

How does the study of genres contribute to the question of text authenticity? The mere fact that the two main genres are distributed in the sources of Ibn Jurayj in such a different way seems to contradict the possibility of a systematic projection backwards upon the preceding generation of scholars. If this were so, we would expect more uniformity in the way they were forged. The same is true for the varied frequency of types of questions among the *responsa* which Ibn Jurayj transmits from ʿAṭāʾ. Can we explain the different kinds of questions—the direct, the indirect, the anonymous, and those from named authorities other than ʿAṭāʾ as mere stylistic devices which Ibn Jurayj had used according to the principle of *variatio delectat*?

The pattern of question and answer implies a strong claim of authenticity, inasmuch as the question is asked by the transmitter, or pupil himself, and is immediately answered by the respective authority, or teacher. With his question, the questioner has a share, in some way, in the answer (as the actual instigator of it). The directness of transmission can hardly be expressed more strongly. Formulas such as “*samiʿtuhū yaqūl*,” “*akhbaranī*,” or “*qāla lī*,” which indicate direct oral transmission as well (which does not exclude their being written down), clearly suggest less reliability, not to mention the totally uninvolved “*ʿan x qāla*.”<sup>28</sup> If one supposes, on the strength of the many direct questions of Ibn Jurayj to ʿAṭāʾ, that he intended to simulate the highest degree of authenticity, how can the following two introductions be explained? Ibn Jurayj said: “I charged someone to ask ʿAṭāʾ about . . . , because I could not hear him,” or: “I sent someone to ʿAṭāʾ with the question about . . . ?”<sup>29</sup> Why would he have invented, in addition to the many direct questions, several anonymous ones, questions which are generally taken to be less authentic because they identify the transmitter only in a passive and not active role? Why, then, does Ibn Jurayj transmit

<sup>28</sup> In this context, I interpret these words with their normal meaning, and I do not rely on the rules connected with these terms by the later “science of *ḥadīth*,” since it cannot be assumed that these rules

were systematically followed in earlier times.

<sup>29</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, no. 10825; vol. 7, no. 13893.



in addition to the *responsa* so many *dicta* from ʿAṭā, two-thirds of them with the simple formula *ʿan ʿAṭā qāla*”? Those who propose this theory of projection or forgery based on this type of transmission must examine the question further. I propose that the study of the genres argues against the hypothesis of outright forgery.

In addition to the two extrinsic formal criteria of authenticity, those of extension and of genres, there are further indicators which suggest that Ibn Jurayj's transmission from ʿAṭā was authentic. I call them intrinsic formal criteria of authenticity because they are based on an investigation of how Ibn Jurayj presents ʿAṭā's material. The leading questions thereby were whether we can recognize a distinctive profile of Ibn Jurayj differing from that of ʿAṭā and whether there are critical remarks of his about the opinions of his teacher, or other formal hints which are not in agreement with the supposition of back-projection and fabrication.

As intrinsic formal criteria of authenticity, I propose six types of material: Ibn Jurayj's own legal opinions, his commentaries on texts of ʿAṭā, indirect transmissions from ʿAṭā, expressions of uncertainty by Ibn Jurayj, the existence of variants, and the reporting of ʿAṭā's deficiencies.

1. ʿAbd al-Razzāq transmits from Ibn Jurayj not only legal opinions which the latter ascribes to earlier authorities, but also his own *raʾy*. If one suggests that Ibn Jurayj was a forger who projected his own legal opinions back upon older authorities with the intention of giving them more weight, one has to find a convincing explanation for the fact that there are legal statements of Ibn Jurayj himself which are not attributed to earlier scholars.

2. That the hypothesis of back-projection is untenable is further evident if we turn to the commentaries which Ibn Jurayj provides for some of ʿAṭā's transmissions. They can be classified as additions, which explain or elaborate, or oppositions. Ibn Jurayj obviously added both types of remarks to the texts later. It is not plausible to suggest that Ibn Jurayj first invented the texts, then falsely attributed them to ʿAṭā, and at the same time, or a later time, embellished them with commentaries and criticisms. But it seems not too far-fetched to suppose that Ibn Jurayj, when he heard the teachings of his master as a young pupil, did not have the competence and self-confidence to complete or criticize them, a competence he surely acquired later.

3. Judging from the amount of transmitted material, ʿAṭā is clearly Ibn Jurayj's principal authority. If the authorship of ʿAṭā were completely or partly fictitious, we would not expect that Ibn Jurayj would also report opinions as having been received indirectly, i.e., through a third person. Such traditions do exist nevertheless.<sup>30</sup>

4. Sometimes Ibn Jurayj points out that he is uncertain about the very wording or meaning of ʿAṭā's sayings.<sup>31</sup> This confession of doubt must be seen as proof of his truthfulness and as his intention to reproduce the teachings of his master as exactly as possible.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, nos. 11080, 11348, and 11460; vol. 7, nos. 12553, 12571, 13121, and 14001.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., vol. 7, nos. 13138 and 12835.

5. The attempt to relate precisely and word-for-word can also be observed in the cases where Ibn Jurayj records variants of <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā in a tradition he heard from him at a different time or which he heard both from him and another informant. The discrepancy may be only slight but can also be accompanied by a real change of meaning.<sup>32</sup> Those cases where Ibn Jurayj preserves different versions of the same subject from <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā himself are especially difficult to harmonize with the supposition that he also attributed texts falsely to <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā. If this were so, the contradictions in his own fabrications would have been realized by Ibn Jurayj. Besides, he adds notes to several of <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā's legal opinions that this was also a view held by a certain "Companion of the Prophet" or by a caliph. Normally, he states this clearly as his own note, without quoting any informant for it. A forger would hardly have resisted the temptation to claim <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā's authority for it.

6. The importance of <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā's teachings for him notwithstanding, Ibn Jurayj does not always let him appear as a legal scholar without fault as one might expect from a forger who falsely attributes his own ideas or commonly heard traditions to a great master of the past. Lacking a better term, I call this "hints at deficiencies of <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā." Among them are ignorance, uncertainty, change of opinion, and contradictions.<sup>33</sup>

All the extrinsic and intrinsic formal criteria mentioned argue in favor of the authenticity of the <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā's transmission as preserved by his pupil Ibn Jurayj and contained in the *Muṣannaḥ* of <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd al-Razzāq. This material genuinely appears to belong to <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā, who must have been one of Ibn Jurayj's most important teachers, a conclusion which is also substantiated in the biographical literature. Ibn Jurayj usually differentiates precisely between <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā's statements, those of other authorities, and his own opinion, and he does not hesitate to deviate from the teachings of his master. In this transmission, we are surely not dealing with conscious back-projections or spurious attributions. In my opinion, his work can be considered a historically reliable source for the state of legal development at Mecca in the first decade of the second century A.H.

## V

<sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā, who died 115/733, belongs mainly to the generation of the last quarter of the first Islamic century called *al-tābiʿūn*. He is therefore a connecting link between Ibn Jurayj and the generation of the *ṣaḥāba*, i.e., the Companions of the Prophet. The question is now whether in <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā's materials genuine traditions of the first century A.H. are found and how we can ascertain that fact.

First we must note that the proportion of traditions (*aḥādīth*, *āḥār*) in the body of texts from <sup>ʿ</sup>Aṭā is not very high. Only 20 percent of it contain traditions, as against 80 percent of his pure *raʿy*. In the genre of the *responsa*, this imbalance is even greater: 8 to 92 percent. This can be taken as an indicator of the fact that traditions conveying

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, no. 10532; vol. 7, nos. 13650–51, 13107, 13108, 13110, 13217, and 13220; vol. 6, nos. 10962 (10919, 10951), 10969.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, no. 11522; vol. 7, nos. 12658,

13655, 14001, and 14030; vol. 6, no. 10780; vol. 7, nos. 11954, 11966, 11680, 12974, and 13391; vol. 6, nos. 11620 (11603, 11618), 11627 (11610), and 11648.



opinions and practices of others played only a minor role in his legal teaching. The conclusion that there were in his time only a small number of traditions or that he did not know more than that, would, however be incorrect and can be easily disproven by the texts. Even if *raʿy* dominates in his teaching (indeed, precisely because of it), the fact that he sometimes relies explicitly upon earlier authorities must not be overlooked. The hierarchy of his authorities according to the frequency of their mention is: (1) Companions of the Prophet (15 percent), (2) the Qurʾān (10 percent), (3) the Prophet (5 percent), (4) anonymous traditions (3 percent), and (5) contemporaries of ʿAṭāʾ (1.5 percent).<sup>34</sup> In the following, I confine myself to examining in somewhat more detail two of these “legal sources” which ʿAṭāʾ sometimes quotes: the Companions and the Prophet.

#### THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

First of all, a formal matter springs to mind: ʿAṭāʾ’s citing of the Companions in his *responsa* have, as a rule, no *isnād* and are extremely short. Partly, they are mere references which assume either personal contact with the person mentioned or the knowledge of a more detailed tradition about him. In the genre of the *dicta*, on the other hand, longer traditions and sometimes even *asānīd* also appear.

Among the *ṣaḥāba*, ʿAṭāʾ most frequently quotes Ibn ʿAbbās. Sometimes he says expressly that he had heard a statement from him, sometimes not. Regarding the authenticity of ʿAṭāʾ’s transmissions from Ibn ʿAbbās, note the following points:

1. In ʿAṭāʾ’s *responsa*, references to Ibn ʿAbbās are very rare (a little more than 2 percent), and they are, in this genre, mainly of supplementary value, serving merely as confirmation of ʿAṭāʾ’s opinion but without value of their own. Obviously ʿAṭāʾ did not, as a rule, attempt to give his own legal opinions more weight by referring to the authority of an Ibn ʿAbbās or any other Companion.
2. Although, in most cases, ʿAṭāʾ quotes Ibn ʿAbbās directly, sometimes even with *samiʿtu*, there are also indirect references.<sup>35</sup>
3. In some texts, he refers to him not to confirm something, but rather to contradict him.<sup>36</sup>

None of these are the usual methods that would be chosen by a forger who claims to have heard a great master and who ascribes his own opinions to him.

4. Whereas most of ʿAṭāʾ’s transmissions from Ibn ʿAbbās contain simple legal *dicta*, there are a few texts of quite another style and content. I would call them stories (*qiṣaṣ*). In them, ʿAṭāʾ presents himself as a pupil of Ibn ʿAbbās.<sup>37</sup> Criteria of content point to the authenticity of these reports.

<sup>34</sup> The basis of calculation is the quantity of the texts studied.

<sup>35</sup> See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 6, no. 11076.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 11747. For the opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās, see nos. 11767–69.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 7, nos. 14021–22.

5. In view of the great many *aḥādīth* of the Prophet that Ibn ʿAbbās is alleged to have transmitted in the biographical literature (the usual number is 1,660),<sup>38</sup> it is striking that ʿAṭāʾ, as a rule, does not quote such *aḥādīth*. In the sample of texts I studied, not a single one was to be found.

All these and a few additional observations indicate that the transmission of ʿAṭāʾ from Ibn ʿAbbās, preserved by Ibn Jurayj and passed on to ʿAbd al-Razzāq, is a generally trustworthy one.

In addition to Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAṭāʾ emphasizes only from a very few of his other *ṣaḥāba* a *samāʿ*, from Abū Hurayra and Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh for instance<sup>39</sup> (cases which are very rare and archaic in content). Others, on the other hand, he quotes without *samāʿ* or indirectly, i.e., through an informant, although direct contact with them was possible or even probable. From these examples, we can conclude that those traditions of ʿAṭāʾ from *ṣaḥāba* which he explicitly claims to have heard must—until the contrary is proven—be taken as genuine.

References to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb are the second largest group of ʿAṭāʾ's transmissions from *ṣaḥāba*. But as a group, they do not amount to even 3 percent of Ibn Jurayj's materials from ʿAṭāʾ. If one classifies ʿUmar's traditions, for example, it appears that they belong mostly to genres which are connected with his role as caliph: legal judgments (*aqḍiya*),<sup>40</sup> ordinances (interdictions, positive orders),<sup>41</sup> legal answers (*fatāwā*) in which the authority of the caliph may have been sought,<sup>42</sup> *dicta* which may partly be the results of legal sentences or *fatāwā*<sup>43</sup> and, rarely, *acta*, i.e., practices of a more private character.<sup>44</sup> In this regard, ʿUmar's traditions differ greatly from those of Ibn ʿAbbās, and this gives them an appearance of historical value. That ʿAṭāʾ invented them can surely be ruled out because they are so marginal in his legal teaching and are not always accepted by him as legally binding. They were clearly already current knowledge at his time, but where did ʿAṭāʾ get them from?

For most of his transmissions from ʿUmar, ʿAṭāʾ does not quote any source. Occasionally, he introduces them with the word "*dhakarū*" ("it was reported [to me]").<sup>45</sup> In a few cases, however, he names the informant from whom he "heard" the tradition or an *isnād* reaching back to a witness who lived during ʿUmar's time. ʿAṭāʾ himself was born after ʿUmar's death.<sup>46</sup> There are clues in the texts that ʿAṭāʾ actually did acquire the traditions from the informants whom he mentions. This does not mean that they are necessarily genuine, i.e., that they report the truth about ʿUmar, but we can at least be sure that they were in circulation during the lifetime of ʿAṭāʾ's informant. Some of ʿAṭāʾ's traditions about ʿUmar can, therefore, be dated with certainty to before 80 or 70 A.H. We come to similar conclusions when studying ʿAṭāʾ's references to and traditions from ʿĀʾisha and ʿAlī.

<sup>38</sup> See Ibn Hazm, "*Asmāʾ al-ṣaḥāba al-ruwāt wa-mā li kull wāhid min al-ʿadad*"; idem, *Jawāmiʿ al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās and N. al-Asad (Cairo, n.d.), p. 276.

<sup>39</sup> See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 7, nos. 12566 and 13680.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., nos. 12401, 12858, 12884, 13651, and 14021.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., nos. 13508 and 13541.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., no. 13612.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, no. 10726; vol. 7, nos. 12877 and 12885.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, no. 11140.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., vol. 7, no. 12877.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., nos. 14022, 13541, and 13612.



Frequently, especially in the *responsa*, ʿAṭāʾ quotes only fragments of traditions known in more detail from other sources. Usually, in these cases, we can safely assume that he knew their complete versions. There is no hint, however, that the fuller versions are secondary and were later expanded from ʿAṭāʾ's short references. This can be helpful for the dating of traditions in that if there is in Ibn Jurayj's material from ʿAṭāʾ a reference to or a short version of a tradition on *ṣaḥāba*, ʿAṭāʾ's date of death (115/733) is the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the tradition in question.

One example which may demonstrate that this method is helpful for the study of *ḥadīth* is an unusually long tradition about the nursing of adults contained in both of the two most important of the several preserved versions of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*.<sup>47</sup> It is composed of several single traditions: one of the Prophet with some additional information, another about ʿĀʾisha, and a third which concerns the other wives of the Prophet. Because of its artificial composition, it does not seem to fit into the framework of the usual traditions of Mālik. One is thus tempted to consider it a relatively recent addition. But Mālik's *isnād* names ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr (d. between 92/711 and 101/720) as its author and Ibn Shihāb (d. 124/742) as the transmitter and his own informant. According to Schacht's view of the legal development of the question, the origin of the different parts of the story cannot be attributed to Ibn Shihāb or someone from this period, and the appeal to ʿUrwa must, in any case, be regarded as spurious. Rather, Schacht sees here counter-traditions by the circle of "traditionists" whose aim it was to change established doctrine.<sup>48</sup> If, on the other hand, we refer to one of the *responsa* of ʿAṭāʾ concerning the same topic, quite another picture of the history of the question emerges. According to it, ʿAṭāʾ—who is certainly not to be counted among the traditionists—already held the opinion that the suckling of adults was legally valid, and, in this context, he refers to a practice of ʿĀʾisha: "*kānat ʿĀʾisha taʾmuru bi-dhālika banāti akhīhā*."<sup>49</sup> This is connected, without a doubt, to the more detailed tradition of ʿUrwa as preserved in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*. It reads: "*ʿĀʾisha used this [method] in cases of men she wished to let visit her. She used to command her sister Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Bakr [. . .] and the daughters of her brother (fa-kānat taʾmuru ukhtahā Umm Kulthūm [. . .] wa-banāti akhīhā) to nurse the men she wished to let enter with her.*"<sup>49a</sup>

The tradition concerning ʿĀʾisha was, therefore, already known to ʿAṭāʾ. He and Ibn Shihāb drew from the same source, since it is unlikely that ʿAṭāʾ attended lectures of the younger Ibn Shihāb. According to the latter, ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr is the author of the story. He was a slightly older contemporary of ʿAṭāʾ and was his informant for other traditions. It thus seems highly probable that ʿUrwa is ʿAṭāʾ's source as well. If so, then the tradition about ʿĀʾisha as contained in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* must be considered

<sup>47</sup> Mālik b. Anas, *Al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *riwāyat Yahyā b. Yahyā*, ed. M. F. ʿAbd al-Bāqī, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1370/1951), chap. 30, no. 12; idem, *riwāyat Muḥammad ash-Shaybānī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (Cairo, 1387/1967), no. 627.

<sup>48</sup> See Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 48, 246.

<sup>49</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, no. 13883.

<sup>49a</sup> See n. 47 above. For a more detailed discussion of this tradition and its variants, see my forthcoming article "Der *fiqh* des az-Zuhri: Die Quellenproble-

matik" (*Der Islam* 68 [1991]). The Arabic word used in these texts, *arḍaʿa*, really means "suckle," in this special case probably by mixing breast milk with drinks or food. In this way, a "milk relationship" was created which had the same legal status as a blood relationship: "milk relatives" were forbidden to marry one another or to have sexual intercourse and could, therefore, associate with each other without restrictions.

a genuine transmission from ʿUrwa dating to the second half of the first century A.H. and not to the middle of the following century.

#### THE PROPHET

In his *responsa*, ʿAṭāʾ very rarely refers to the Prophet. Among the 200 *responsa* studied, only three even hint at him. In addition, there are a few statements about the Prophet that arise through Ibn Jurayj's questions. None of these texts have an *isnād*; sometimes we find the introduction "*balaghanā anna n-nabī/rasūla llāh . . .*"<sup>50</sup> The proportion of transmissions from the Prophet among ʿAṭāʾ's *dicta* is somewhat higher (6 percent). Whereas in the *responsa*, only references to or fragments of *aḥādīth* are found, most of the prophetic traditions among the *dicta* are complete and quite detailed. Only a quarter of them have an *isnād* although one which is not always complete.

ʿAṭāʾ knew many more traditions about the Prophet than he actually used in his legal arguments. This is revealed in texts in which Ibn Jurayj—partly after an answer containing only ʿAṭāʾ's opinion about a problem—expressly asks him about the Prophet and then receives an answer which indicates that ʿAṭāʾ was well acquainted with a prophetic tradition.<sup>51</sup> ʿAṭāʾ also cites legal principles, which he clearly recognized as traditions from the Prophet but in which he does not refer to the Prophet directly. One example of this is the legal statement "*al-walad li-l-firāsh wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥajar*" ("the child belongs the [marriage] bed and he who had illegal sexual intercourse gets nothing").<sup>52</sup> ʿAṭāʾ makes use of this maxim on two occasions without saying that it was considered a legal judgment of the Prophet.<sup>53</sup> One *responsum* of his, however, reveals that he knew that it was:

Ibn Jurayj said: I said to ʿAṭāʾ: "what is your opinion [in the case] when he [the man] rejects [the paternity of] it [the child] after she [the woman] has borne it?" [ʿAṭāʾ] said: "[in that case] he has to anathematize her (*yulāʿinahā*) and the child belongs to her." I said: "did not the Prophet say: '*Al-walad li-l-firāsh wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥajar*'?" [ʿAṭāʾ] said: "Yes! But this was because the people in [the beginnings of] Islam claimed children born in the beds of [other] men as theirs saying: 'They are ours!' [That is why] the Prophet said: '*Al-walad li-l-firāsh wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥajar*'."<sup>54</sup>

Only through Ibn Jurayj's question are we informed that this legal maxim was not a creation of ʿAṭāʾ himself, but one which already was well known and attributed to the Prophet at the turn of the first century A.H. This allows us to test with traditions from the Prophet the rule we formulated when discussing the dating of traditions from *ṣaḥāba*: with the help of ʿAṭāʾ's references to certain traditions or with his fragments of traditions otherwise known, their *asānīd* can be checked and their time of origin defined more exactly. This will be demonstrated further below.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, no. 10969; vol. 7, no. 12632.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, no. 10651.

<sup>52</sup> The Arabic dictionaries and the commentaries of *ḥadīth* compilations rightly prefer this meaning of *al-ḥajar* to the also possible *rajm*, "stoning." I thank J. Burton for this idea. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab* (Beirut, n.d.), vol. 4, p. 166; al-

Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* (Cairo, 1306/1888), vol. 3, p. 127; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī ilā sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Bulāq, 1304/1886), vol. 4, p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 7, nos. 12381 and 12862.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., no. 12369.



Early detailed transmissions about the Prophet using this maxim, “*al-walad li-l-firāsh wa-li-l-āhir al-ḥajar*,” are to be found in Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭaʿ* and in the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Different versions can be distinguished:

1. There are several variants of a story relating the quarrel between Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbd b. Zamʿa concerning who the real father (*nasab*) of a boy was. They had, it was reported, appealed to the Prophet as a judge, and he made a decision uttering this maxim.<sup>55</sup> This I call the *qiṣṣa* version.

2. There is a short tradition containing only the *dictum* itself.<sup>56</sup> All the early variants of the *qiṣṣa* version have an *isnād* ending with “Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr from ʿĀʾisha.” The short version sometimes has this *isnād*, and sometimes the following one: “Al-Zuhrī from Ibn al-Musayyab and Abū Salama from Abū Hurayra.” Ibn Shihāb (d. 124/742) is the “common link” in all of these texts, if we do not count ʿĀṭā’s references to it for the moment.

According to the procedure of dating with the aid of “common links,” as done by Schacht, the time of Ibn Shihāb would be the earliest point at which this complex of traditions came into being.<sup>57</sup> But since Schacht was convinced that there were extensive forgeries of the chains of transmission, he held al-Zuhrī “hardly responsible for the greater part of these traditions” from the Prophet, the Companions, and the Successors in the *asānīd* of which he appears as a “common link.”<sup>58</sup> He thus places the origin of such traditions in the second quarter of the second century or later. Schacht felt that the above-mentioned maxim has to be dated to the second quarter of the second century based on the fact that in the *Kitāb al-Umm* of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) is reported to have known it as a *dictum* of the Prophet.<sup>59</sup> In addition, Schacht quotes a text from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967), used earlier by both Wellhausen and Goldziher, where a dispute about the paternity of a child is reported that allegedly occurred “in the middle Umayyad period.” Since in this case the rule of the Prophet is neither mentioned nor followed, Schacht concludes that “it had not yet asserted itself in the time of the dispute recorded in Aghani.”<sup>60</sup> It was therefore obvious to him that the first century A.H. cannot be accepted as a possible time of origin of this maxim. Thus the reference to the Prophet must be regarded as historically untenable and as a clear forgery.

If we turn to Ibn Jurayj’s and ʿĀṭā’s references to this maxim of the Prophet, it becomes clear that Schacht’s chronology is incorrect. Since ʿĀṭā quotes the rule several times, it is my opinion that it must have been widely known by the first decade of the second century A.H. (i.e., the middle of the Umayyad period) at the latest. ʿĀṭā obviously knew the *qiṣṣa* version.<sup>61</sup> We have already seen that he did not transmit

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., nos. 13818 (Maʿmar from al-Zuhrī); 13819 and 13824 (Ibn Jurayj from Ibn Shihāb); “*Aḥādīth Abī l-Yamān*,” no. 1 (Shuʿayb from al-Zuhrī); M. M. Azami, *Studies in Early Hadīth Literature* (Indianapolis, 1978), pt. 2 (Arabic texts), pp. 141 f.; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʿ* (Yahyā), chap. 36, no. 20 (Mālik from Ibn Shihāb). In most of the *qiṣṣa* versions, the second part of the maxim is lacking; see also Azami, *Studies*, p. 161. The text is also to be found in the “*Ṣaḥīḥān*.”

<sup>56</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, no. 13821.

<sup>57</sup> See Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 177 ff.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 181. Cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. 1, p. 188, n. 2 and Azami, *Studies*, p. 266.

<sup>61</sup> See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, no. 12369.

from the younger Ibn Shihāb but sometimes directly from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.<sup>62</sup> ʿUrwa is Ibn Shihāb's informant of the *qiṣṣa* variants according to their *asānīd*, so there is evidence for the assumption that he was ʿAṭā's source as well. If so, the story must have been in circulation by the second half of the first century A.H., since ʿUrwa died about the end of it. But the possibility cannot be ruled out that the tradition was widely known earlier, as the *asānīd* with the alleged authors ʿĀ'isha (d. 57/676) and Abū Hurayra (d. 59/678) claim, and it is possible that the story has a kernel of truth and that Muḥammad really made such a judgment.<sup>63</sup>

Schacht considered it improbable that the Prophet had anything to do with this legal rule also for other reasons. But in my opinion, he was wrong here, too, as I will demonstrate below. In his short discussion of our legal maxim backed up by systematic and historical arguments, he adopts Goldziher's hypothesis that the alleged prophetic *dictum* may have been taken from Roman Law, which has a similar rule: *pater est quem iustae nuptiae demonstrant*. The pre-Islamic Arabs decided disputes of paternity in another way, by calling in "professional physiognomists" (*qāfa*). From this, he concludes that the maxim cannot be of Arabic origin and was therefore not current in Arabia in Muḥammad's time. Furthermore, he claims that this legal rule was "strictly speaking incompatible with the Koran" and that the problems it should solve "could hardly arise under the Koranic rule regarding *ʿidda*."<sup>64</sup> He thus seems to conclude—without actually saying it directly—that this *dictum* cannot have been the Prophet's.

These arguments are not convincing, however. Let us begin with his premise that the legal maxim "*al-walad li-l-firāsh*" is incompatible with the Qurʾān: Schacht suggests that the disputes about the paternity of a child arose in cases where the waiting period after the separation from the legitimate sexual partner was not correctly observed. But this is only one possibility which, as he rightly points out, should not arise in Islam. There is another much more important context for disputes over paternity: in cases of illegal sexual intercourse with a married woman or a slave. The Qurʾān struggles with this question by issuing clear legal norms concerning marriage, divorce, and concubinage and by proscribing illegal sexual intercourse with heavy punishments in this world and the world to come. The early texts describing the use of the legal maxim "*al-walad li-l-firāsh*," i.e., the *qiṣṣa* version and ʿAṭā's *responsa*<sup>65</sup> reveal, nevertheless, that in the early Islamic community there were particular social contexts where the Qurʾānic norms had not yet gained a firm footing. One of these problematic areas was the relation between a master and his female slave, which even in Muḥammad's lifetime was unclear.<sup>66</sup>

This is the background of the disputes in which our legal maxim first emerges in the texts: the possibility that a man who committed fornication with another man's wife or slave would benefit from the child resulting from this illegitimate union was eliminated. Moreover, many cases of adultery were prevented from becoming public be-

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., no. 13939.

<sup>63</sup> Juynboll argues that the fact alone that this statement was ascribed to Ibn al-Musayyab has to be regarded as a proof that it cannot be older than that person; see *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 15 f. But this is not convincing because he relies on limited data. His conclusion is purely hypothetical.

<sup>64</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 181 f.

<sup>65</sup> ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaḥ*, vol. 7, nos. 12369, 12381, 12529, and 12862.

<sup>66</sup> See my article "*Wal-muḥṣanātu mina n-nisā'i illā mā malakat aimānukum* (Koran 4: 24) und die koranische Sexualethik," *Der Islam* 63 (1986): 192–218, esp. 199 ff.



cause both in the case of a man who claimed a child borne by the wife or the slave of another man or in the case of a woman who affirmed that her child was not from her husband or master, the claimant implicitly confessed to illegal sexual intercourse and ran the risk of the punishment for it. ʿAṭāʾ limits the application of the legal maxim to such cases where the paternity of a husband or female slave's master was not rejected by the man himself but which was challenged by another party—thus presupposing irregular or illegitimate sexual relations—and he justifies it by saying that the original intention of the rule had been to stop such paternity disputes. ʿAṭāʾ dismisses the pre-Islamic method of relying on the *qāfa* (physiognomists) who established paternity by comparing the child with the contesting would-be fathers. He appears to maintain that this method has been replaced by the “*al-walad li-l-firāsh*” rule.

This maxim is, therefore, in congruity with the Qurʾānic legislation concerning marriage and family and with the mores of the early Islamic period even if it does not fit so well with the Qurʾānic tendency to insure the real paternity of a child. Is there a legal system in the world wholly free from contradictions? We have to conclude that even the Prophet may have used this legal maxim.

In locating the emergence of Islamic jurisprudence in Iraq at the beginning of the second century A.H. at the earliest and the introduction of this legal maxim in the late second half of the second century A.H., Schacht looked for Roman influences in Islamic law, especially in Iraq, and he suggested late antique rhetoric as the channel. But Patricia Crone has recently shown that this is quite improbable, especially as far as this particular legal maxim is concerned.<sup>67</sup> If my argument that the maxim was known in *Hijāz* by the first century and that it cannot be ruled out that the Prophet himself had used it is sound, the hypothesis of a Roman (or better Roman provincial) origin becomes even more dubious. It could only be possible if we could trace the adoption of this legal rule to pre-Islamic times.

Such a supposition is not as extravagant as it may appear at first sight. The existence of an old Arabian method of deciding paternity disputes by physiognomists does not exclude that in some places, under the influence of other laws, the rule “*al-walad li-l-firāsh*” may have been adopted. That this had indeed been the case is explicitly stated in an *awāʿil* tradition, usually regarded as anachronistic, reporting that the pre-Islamic judge Aktham b. Ṣayfī decided according to that rule.<sup>68</sup> If this was not a new idea in Arabia—which may be possible—which law could have been behind it? We must consider Jewish, i.e., rabbinical law; there is indeed a parallel in the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>69</sup> Was the Jewish legal rule adopted from Roman law or was it originally Jewish? Given the present state of our knowledge about pre-Islamic Arabia, too many questions remain open and too much speculation is needed to push the origin of the Islamic legal maxim to before the first century A.H., for neither Jewish nor Roman origin can be proven.<sup>69a</sup>

<sup>67</sup> P. Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 10 f. Cf. also Azami, *Studies*, pp. 265 f.

<sup>68</sup> See Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> See Crone, *Roman*, p. 11.

<sup>69a</sup> On the general question of possible Roman

influences on Islamic law, see Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law*, esp. chap. 1; my review of Crone in *Deḥī Islam* 65 (1988): 342–45; and W. B. Hallaq's article “The Use and Abuse of Evidence: The Question of Provincial and Roman Influences on Early Islamic Law,” *JAOS* 110 (1990): 79–91.

## VI

I have chosen and discussed in some detail the example "*al-walad li-l-firāsh*" because Schacht concentrated and relied on it in his monumental work on the origins of Islamic jurisprudence. My thesis that by means of ʿAṭāʾ's references to prophetic traditions this legal maxim can be dated back at least to the second half of the *first century A.H.*, if not to the Prophet himself, undermines some of Schacht's fundamental ideas, among them his well-known theories on the pattern of the development of *ḥadīth*: Successors, Companions, and Prophet, that is, the traditions from the Prophet concerning legal questions are the earliest link in the chain:

[. . .] Generally and broadly speaking, traditions from Companions and Successors are earlier than those from the Prophet.<sup>70</sup> One of the main conclusions to be drawn [. . .] is that, generally speaking, the "living tradition" of the ancient schools of law, based to a great extent on individual reasoning, came first, that in the second stage it was put under the aegis of Companions, that traditions from the Prophet himself, *put into circulation by traditionists toward the middle of the second century A.H.*, disturbed and influenced this "living tradition", and that only Shafīʿi secured to the traditions from the Prophet supreme authority.<sup>71</sup> . . . Every legal tradition from the Prophet, until the contrary is proved, must be taken *not as an authentic* or essentially authentic, even if slightly obscured, *statement* valid for his time or the time of the Companions, *but as the fictitious* expression of a legal doctrine formulated at a later date.<sup>72</sup> . . . We shall find that the bulk of legal traditions from the Prophet known to Malik originated in the generation preceding him, that is *in the second quarter of the second century A.H.*, and we shall *not meet any legal tradition from the Prophet which can be considered authentic* (italics mine).<sup>73</sup>

The prophetic traditions connected with the legal maxim "*al-walad li-l-firāsh wa-li-l-āhir al-ḥajar*" are made up of a group of texts which clearly contradict Schacht's theory on the time of the origin of those prophetic legal traditions. This is not an isolated instance.<sup>74</sup>

We have seen that ʿAṭāʾ claims the Prophet only very rarely as an authority and that he also gives his own opinion about legal problems for which he knows a tradition from the Prophet without referring to it. This is one argument against the assumption that ʿAṭāʾ invented prophetic traditions himself. Those he quotes or hints at must have already been in circulation during his lifetime, that is, that they can be placed in the *first century A.H.* For the reasons already explained<sup>75</sup> and because of the general lack of *asānīd*, it also has to be ruled out that Ibn Jurayj falsely ascribed them to ʿAṭāʾ. His *aḥādīth* from the Prophet are—contrary to Schacht's generalization—not earlier than his traditions from the Companions, they are not transmitted more carefully, and they obviously have no stronger probative force than the latter. In number, ʿAṭāʾ's references to the Prophet are eclipsed by those to his teacher Ibn ʿAbbās, but the Prophet is mentioned more often than all the Companions, such as ʿUmar, ʿĀʾisha, or ʿAlī.

All this reflects the very subordinate role of the prophetic *aḥādīth*—and we can say of the traditions in general—in the legal scholarship and teaching of ʿAṭāʾ, and this

<sup>70</sup> Schacht, *Origins*, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Cf. my forthcoming book *Die Anfänge*.

<sup>75</sup> See secs. III and IV of this article.



state of affairs may be typical for Islamic jurisprudence of the first century A.H. But we have to emphasize that there *were* traditions from *ṣaḥāba* and from the Prophet in the first century, and they *were* sometimes used as sources or arguments by the *fuqahāʾ* of the late first and early second centuries to support their doctrines. We have to conclude that the last quarter of the first century of Islam was the beginning of a development that made stormy progress in the course of the second century, reaching its peak with the doctrines of ash-Shāfiʿī about a century later: the infiltration and incorporation of prophetic *aḥādīth* into Islamic jurisprudence.

The conclusion that the prophetic *aḥādīth* are marginal to the legal teaching of ʿAṭāʾ does not mean that they are worthless for us; on the contrary, they are exceptionally valuable. Since there is only one generation between ʿAṭāʾ and Muḥammad, these texts are very close to the time and the people they report about, and their authenticity cannot be ruled out a priori—as Schacht has done. ʿAṭāʾ’s transmissions from the Prophet that have an *isnād* are especially precious in this respect. But his transmissions without an *isnād*, too, can be successfully used to date traditions, if variants from other sources are known.

While studying the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, I came to the conclusion that the theory championed by Goldziher, Schacht, and, in their footsteps, many others—myself included—which, in general, rejects *ḥadīth* literature as a historically reliable source for the first century A.H., deprives the historical study of early Islam of an important and useful type of source.

It goes without saying that this material cannot be regarded as completely truthful. This even the Muslims themselves did not claim. Their method of sifting through the material by means of the critical study of the transmitters was a quite workable method of examination that may be of some use even for the modern historian, but it was not entirely satisfactory and could not avoid misinterpretations. I think that with the help of the newly available sources, such as the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq and that of Ibn Abī Shayba, and the *aḥādīth* contained in early complexes of transmissions—such as those of ʿAṭāʾ in ʿAbd al-Razzāq’s *Muṣannaf*, where the *ḥadīth* is not the real object of the teaching but is only marginal—we are now able to raise the question of the historical value of the *ḥadīth* texts anew.





# THE INCREDIBLE REGNAL SPANS OF KISH I IN THE SUMERIAN KING LIST

DWIGHT W. YOUNG, *Brandeis University*

## I. INTRODUCTION

IN Mesopotamia, the usual distinction between the realm of the mathematician and that of the historiographer does not always apply. A writer working with early genealogies or dynastic lists which are deficient in numerical data might incorporate numbers learned from basic mathematical problems. In this way he could attribute fantastic longevity to the ancients named in his sources and set the length of longer periods of time. The evidence lies in three bodies of material. The most recent is the biblical P source, which took shape in Babylonia in the sixth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Much earlier is the Sumerian king list, possibly composed in its original form at the outset of the Ur III period (late third millennium).<sup>2</sup> Most importantly, we have the mathematical texts recorded in the Old Babylonian period and published in the second quarter of this century;<sup>3</sup> this corpus was likely being created prior to and contemporaneously with the composition of the Sumerian king list.<sup>4</sup> Comparing the latter with the mathematical material, I have recently argued that the author of the king list (a) elected certain dynastic spans before he assigned figures to individual reigns and (b) drew upon a knowledge of sexagesimal mathematics in his choice of numbers.<sup>5</sup> The present

<sup>1</sup> Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 323–25, favors a date rather late in the Jewish exilic period for completion of the priestly strata.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Claus Wilcke, "Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit," in Paul Garelli, ed., *Le Palais et la royauté* (Paris, 1974), pp. 180–94.

<sup>3</sup> See especially the reliable edition of François Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, Ex Oriente Lux I (Leiden, 1938), which must be supplemented by O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, AOS 29 (New Haven, 1945). Mathematical texts from the Seleucid period make it clear that Mesopotamian mathematics remained essentially unchanged through the intervening centuries.

<sup>4</sup> In his "The Antecedents of Old Babylonian Place Notation and the Early History of Babylonian Mathematics," *Historia Mathematica* 3 (1976): 417–39, Marvin A. Powell presents evidence that (i) the system of sexagesimal place notation was in use

during the Third Dynasty of Ur, (ii) the abstract interest in numerical relationships seen in the Old Babylonian problem texts has a prior history going back as far as the middle of the third millennium, and (iii) instruction in mathematics too was being given as early as ca. 2500 B.C. See also his study, "Late Babylonian Surface Mensuration: A Contribution to the History of Babylonian Agriculture and Arithmetic," *AFO* 31 (1984): 32–66, which illustrates further the development of metrological-mathematical concepts in the Akkad and Ur III dynasties and where he concludes (p. 66), "When viewed as part of a whole cultural phenomenon, the existence of mathematical textbooks in the Old Babylonian period is more plausibly interpreted as the attempt to record a dying tradition rather than as evidence for brilliant innovation."

<sup>5</sup> See "A Mathematical Approach to Certain Dynastic Spans in the Sumerian King List," *JNES* 47 (1988): 123–29, the first in a series of several articles on numbers in the king list and unrealizable lifetimes and predetermined epochal spans in the Old Testament. That study, like the present one, depends mainly on numbers preserved in the Weld-Blundell version, with limited consideration of variants in the less complete Nippur recension. The second article, "On the Application of Numbers

study continues this line of investigation by focusing on numbers used as regnal spans in the First Dynasty of Kish. Herein the concern is specifically with their mathematical orientation as shown by two types of reckonings: (i) sexagesimal quadratic equation problems and (ii) calculations with percentages.

Before the addition of the antediluvians, Kish I stood at the beginning of the king list and fittingly is said to cover the longest span of time among the postdiluvian dynasties. Its 24,510 years, 3 months, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days are ostensibly the sum of its twenty-three reigns, although one cannot account for the 3 months and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days among the components in the most complete version attested by the Weld-Blundell prism.<sup>6</sup> The figures given therein, all of incredible length, are:

1.	1,200	14.	400	
2.	960	15.	660	
3.	[. . .]	16.	900	son of En-menunna
4.	[. . .]	17.	1,200	son of En-menunna
5.	[. . .]	18.	140	
6.	840 <sup>1</sup>	19.	305	
7.	960	20.	900	no paternity given
8.	840	21.	1,200	no paternity given
9.	900	22.	900	En-mebaragesi
10.	600	23.	625	Aga
11.	840	TOTAL:	24,510	years, 3 months,
12.	720			and $3\frac{1}{2}$ days
13.	1,560	<i>Etana</i>		

The arrangement here by pairs accords with the interpretation presented below. Since there are twenty-three kings, there can be only eleven pairs. One reign is left over, viz., that of Etana (no. 13 above), whose years are the same as the sum of the two regnal spans immediately before his.<sup>7</sup> Restorations in harmony with this assess-

from Babylonian Mathematics to Biblical Life Spans and Epochs," *ZAW* 100 (1988): 331-61, brings together some twenty numbers in the Hebrew Scriptures and the mathematical contexts in which they occur in cuneiform material. Another study (forthcoming in *ZAW* 102 [1990]), "The Influence of Babylonian Algebra on Longevity among the Antediluvians," deals largely with the algebraic significance of the number 800 used to extend biblical life spans beyond procreation (for example, Adam's

130 + 800 = 930 years; Gen. 5:3-5).

<sup>6</sup> Edited by S. Langdon, *Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the Chronological Prism, W-B. 444*, OECT 2 (London, 1923); the standard edition is Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, AS 11 (Chicago, 1939).

<sup>7</sup> The equation  $840 + 720 = 1,560$  lends support to the hypothesis of pairing, since the large number is the sum of a pair.

ment which yield the stated 24,510 years are suggested with all due reserve for the third through fifth reigns as follows: 900, 6,000, and 960 respectively.<sup>8</sup>

One might assume that the 3 months and 3½ days belong with one of the three reigns whose lengths are missing; however, there is not enough space in the broken lines on the prism to accomodate the presumed addition. The author may have been prompted to make this curious addition of months and days to the total for Kish I by analogy with the record at the end of the original king list regarding the duration of the rather brief reign of Utuḫegal, sole ruler of his dynasty and the last king of Uruk before the Third Dynasty of Ur. This rule is said to be 7 years, 6 months, and 15 days.<sup>9</sup> No other dynasty exhibits this unusual feature. Moreover, a copy of the Nippur recension accounts for the months and days in Kish I by a supplement to the fourth regnal span of 420 years (see the variants below); this association may also reflect influence from the dating for Utuḫegal, for 7 and 420 are identical in cuneiform orthography.

Variants for the first part of the list from the Nippur recension follow a sort of loosely constructed diminishing progression. In several cases, they differ radically from the Weld-Blundell figures.

L2: <sup>10</sup>	1.	1,200 <sup>1</sup>	2.	900 (var. 960)	3.	1,670 <sup>1</sup>
	4.	420 years,	3 months,	3½ days		
	5.	300	6.	1,240 <sup>1</sup>		

Other variants:<sup>11</sup> 13. 1,500<sup>1</sup> 14. 410

The twenty-three reigns of Kish I fall into three groups,<sup>12</sup> clearly marked by the repeated occurrence of lugal-àm, "became king," an expression that is part of the formula for introducing dynasties and which accompanies the name of the ruler who heads a group.<sup>13</sup> The first series, noted for its distinctive names,<sup>14</sup> consists of twelve reigns. The second series, a dynasty headed by Etana, includes as well the fourteenth through twenty-first rulers. The last two kings in our list constitute a third group;<sup>15</sup> with good reason they are treated as a separate family in one textual variant.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Given the extant regnal spans, one must introduce a relatively large number such as the decuple of 600 to attain a total as great as 24,510.

<sup>9</sup> See Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 120–21 and n. 315. In his opinion (p. 202), the exactness of the date indicates not the complete reign, but at what point in the reign the scribe completed his work. Be that as it may, the reason for this exactness need not detract from the probability of influence on a like construction in the First Dynasty of Kish.

<sup>10</sup> According to the fragment N 3368, published by M. Civil, "Texts and Fragments (36)," *JCS* 15 (1961): 79 f., and treated by W. W. Hallo, "Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension," *JCS* 17 (1963): 52 f.

<sup>11</sup> See Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 80 and especially nn. 75 and 78. These numbers are variants to those discussed in this study.

<sup>12</sup> Noted by Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 15–18, 155–57, 167–68, who contends (p. 155) that the first part "has been added in front of an originally separate tradition which began with Etana."

<sup>13</sup> Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 29, n. 47.

<sup>14</sup> Some are the names of animals, but not all are of this type; cf. Kullassina-bél, proposed for the second ruler by Hallo, "Beginning and End," p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> The first attestation of the title lugal, "king," is applied to En-mebaragesi; see Dietz Otto Edzard, "Problèmes de la royauté dans la période présargonique," in Garelli, ed., *Le Palais et la royauté*, p. 142. With this ruler we stand, as it were, on the threshold of history.

<sup>16</sup> CBS 13994, published by Arno Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, PBS 5 (Philadelphia, 1914), no. 3, pl. 91; transliterated and translated by Poebel, *Historical Texts*, PBS 4 (Philadelphia, 1914), pp. 78–80.



As we shall see, the author of the king list seems to have taken these subdivisions into account even by the regnal spans he accorded. While each of the groups has figures conspicuous in the fundamental quadratic equation problems known from the mathematical texts written in the Old Babylonian period (discussed in sec. II below), the two numbers for the final group appear to make a sort of separate algebraic statement. On the other hand, the initial series has in addition several numbers<sup>17</sup> which were likely arrived at as percentages of the duration of the first rule, viz., 1,200 (see sec. III below), and the first reign of the second group is the sum of two of these percentages. In tabular form by the series in which they occur, the figures engendered by the two types of calculations are:

	Series I	Series II	Series III
Type A:	600		
		400	
	900	900	900
	1,200	1,200	
			625
Type B:	720	1,560	
	840		
	960		

The arrangement for Type A in this table takes into consideration the algebraic roles of the numbers. Since 600 is often the starting point for a quadratic equation problem, it occupies the first row. Thereafter come the squares of the two integers upon which the problems are based. In the fourth row stands 1,200, a cleverly contrived product of the same two integers. The final row has a square, 625, which plays a very important supporting role, albeit a secondary development. Among the figures for Type B, 1,560 is the sum of 720 and 840 in Series I.

## II. NUMBERS WITH ALGEBRAIC SIGNIFICANCE

The mathematical interests of the king list's author are nowhere more pronounced than in the figures he selected for the reigns of Kish I. Of the twenty figures preserved in the Weld-Blundell text, no fewer than half are realizable in foundational algebraic problems documented in the Old Babylonian tablets. The numbers in question are 1,200 (thrice), 900 (four times),<sup>18</sup> 625, 600, and 400.<sup>19</sup> The occurrence and, in some cases, the position of these five numbers in the First Dynasty of Kish suggest the

<sup>17</sup> They are 960 (twice), 840 (thrice), and 720. A third occurrence of 960 has been suggested above as a possibility.

<sup>18</sup> Above I have posited a fifth occurrence in the abraded portion of the initial series.

<sup>19</sup> For the sole fantastic regnal span in Kish IIIb, the author repeated 400; to the single rule of Kish IIIa, which is artificially separated from IIIb by the

contemporary Akshak dynasty, he allotted 100, which belongs to the same algebraic group as the other five numbers. In order of occurrence, the eight regnal spans for this group are 100, 25, 400, 30, 7, 11, 11, and 7. To my discussion in "Mathematical Approach," p. 128, perhaps one should add that 25 and 30 are the roots of the last two regnal spans in Kish I.

author's awareness of numerical relationships in sexagesimal algebra, for it is these very numbers that are essential in one or another of the more elementary quadratic equation problems known from the Old Babylonian texts.

The numbers with algebraic significance under discussion are without exception derived from 30 and/or 20, the reciprocals of 2 and 3 in sexagesimal mathematics. In the Old Babylonian quadratic equation problems, the numbers 30 ( $= x$ ) and 20 ( $= y$ ) often represent the fractions  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , but they do function in some instances also as integers. To see their pertinence to the figures in Kish I, we must indeed treat them as the equivalent of the decimal numbers 30 and 20. They and 10, arrived at as their difference, constitute the nuclear elements in a certain algebraic group or family which comprises the derivatives thereof, most notably 600 (the product of 30 and 20) and the squares 900, 400, and 100. The square 625 comes into play secondarily, for example, as the sum of 600 and the square of half of 10 (i.e.,  $600 + 25 = 625$ ; see other examples below). That 1,200 is a related number becomes apparent when one considers its origin as 30 times the sum of  $30 + (30 - 20)$  in a problem text discussed below.

The most prominent number in Kish I, according to the Weld-Blundell prism, is 900, which occurs in all three subdivisions. It is the square of 30 when the latter is a one-place integer. Each of its four occurrences seems to form a pair with the number of the next reign. The succeeding figures—all related in sexagesimal algebra—are 600, 625, and 1,200 (twice). The inspiration for such pairing may well have arisen at the very end of the dynasty, where the last two rulers, En-mebaragesi and his son Aga, constitute a distinct historical entity.<sup>20</sup> There 900 precedes 625, a number which arises logically in solving certain Babylonian examples of foundational quadratic equation problems (see further discussion below).

The importance of 1,200 in the author's thinking probably accounts for its employment as the first regnal span in the dynasty.<sup>21</sup> A repeated sequence further on in the second group of reigns, moreover, points to an algebraic foundation. It has been noted above that in two instances a reign of 900 years is followed by a span of 1,200. The first of these pairs again has a natural cast to it—akin to that in the final two reigns of the dynasty—in that both rulers are sons of the same father, En-menunna. For the second pair no paternity is given. That pairing 900 and 1,200 speaks strongly of an algebraic affiliation, we glean from a textbook example<sup>22</sup> wherein we find that 1,200 is a product established by using insightfully<sup>23</sup> only the numbers 30 and 20:  $30 \times \{30 + (30 - 20)\}$ . The equation leads to 900 as the value of  $x^2$ , and from this square one may, of course, ascertain that  $x$  is 30. The problem says:<sup>24</sup>

The length plus the difference between the length and the width I multiplied by the length and got 20.

<sup>20</sup> See the text cited in n. 16 above.

<sup>21</sup> Thus it is also the initial number in the original king list.

<sup>22</sup> YBC 4668, no. B 6, edited by Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, p. 174. Inscribed with a large and diverse number of quadratic equation problems with no order throughout apparent, the tablet might have served as a source upon which a teacher would draw for classroom instruction and examinations. The problem in question is the sim-

plest and last in a short series of related exercises.

<sup>23</sup> Since  $30 + (30 - 20)$  is 40, the problem might have been an outgrowth of that operation with the reciprocals of the numbers 1 through 6 in which each reciprocal is multiplied by a constant factor such as 40; see YBC 7355 in Neugebauer and Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> For reasons that will become apparent, my translation retains the sexagesimal number.

Transforming this statement into modern terms,<sup>25</sup> we have  $x\{x + (x - y)\} = 20$ . This is a pure quadratic equation,  $2x^2 - xy = 20$ , through which one reaches the value of  $x$ .<sup>26</sup> The procedure for the solution is not given; presumably it entailed three steps: (i) add the given 20 to the area ( $xy$ ), which is known to be 10, to arrive at 30 (i.e.,  $2x^2$ ); (ii) take half of 30 to get  $x^2$ , which is 15; (iii) find the square root of 15.

Now, since the root of sexagesimal 15 is 30, both the first and the third steps yield the same number. The student had to understand, however, that the first step did not give the answer. If we take the numbers as fractions (viz., 0;10, 0;15, 0;20, 0;30), the distinction between the results of steps (i) and (iii) is not obvious, for we know that the sum of  $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$  is  $\frac{1}{2}$  and the square root of  $\frac{1}{4}$  is also  $\frac{1}{2}$ . But at a higher magnitude the distinction is immediately clear:<sup>27</sup> (i)  $20,0 + 10,0 = 30,0$ ; (ii) half of 30,0 is 15,0, more readily recognizable as the decimal number 900; (iii) the root of 900 or 15,0 is the integer 30, not 30,0. Consequently, there is an advantage for a student at the elementary stage of quadratic equation problems to perceive 20, the number given in this problem, as the equivalent of the decimal figure<sup>28</sup> 1,200.

In the Mesopotamian schools, the student interested in mathematics was naturally drawn to quadratic equation problems because of the fascinating numerical relationships inherent in them. He probably found the problems featuring  $x - y$  especially appealing, since the procedures for solving them were easier to learn and remember than those for others. This fact and the primary nature of the problem discussed above may well have given 1,200, the only essential number in this simple problem besides 600, a special place in his thoughts. Nevertheless, if we were to isolate 1,200 from all other figures in the king list, a link with sexagesimal algebra could hardly be substantiated. But when we consider the number in conjunction with figures such as 600, 900, 400, 100, and 625, which have undeniable algebraic overtones individually and as an aggregate, its position in the same mathematical context seems probable. In particular, the juxtaposition of 900 and 1,200 twice in a brief series of nine numbers points to algebraic influence.

We shall now examine quadratic equation problems documented by the Yale University tablet YBC 6504.<sup>29</sup> Its four closely related problems appear to be an introduction to the fundamental formulae for solving quadratic exercises in sexagesimal algebra. Each problem begins with two equations. Common to all four is  $xy - (x - y)^2 = 500$ . The other number given fluctuates from one problem to the next: (i)  $x - y = 10$ ;

<sup>25</sup> The modern symbols correspond to terms used in the Old Babylonian texts for a rectangle's length ( $= x$ ), width ( $= y$ ), and area ( $= xy$ ).

<sup>26</sup> The companion problem which follows on the tablet gives a quadratic equation for  $y$ ; for an analysis thereof, see my "Influence of Babylonian Algebra."

<sup>27</sup> Filling an empty place with zero is a device—yet unknown in the Old Babylonian period—which enables us to visualize quickly the difference between, say, 20 and 1,200 ( $< 20 \times 60$ ) in sexagesimal figures. In Mesopotamia, without such aid, the student had to depend on his ability to translate, whenever it was necessary, the magnitude of a specific sexagesimal number with a decimal figure.

See n. 28 for an example.

<sup>28</sup> Mesopotamian mathematicians dealt with both decimal and sexagesimal numbers, although they used the latter exclusively in problem texts. We see an example of a decimal interpretation in the Princeton Theological Seminary text no. 247, in Neugebauer and Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, p. 18. On the upper edge is the following inscription: 4 li-im 3 me-at ù 20, "4 thousand 3 hundred and 20," which leaves no doubt that the sexagesimal number 1,12 in the calculations on the tablet must be understood as 1,12,0, i.e.,  $3,600 + (12 \times 60)$ .

<sup>29</sup> Edited by Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, pp. 134–36.



(ii)  $x + y = 50$ ; (iii)  $x = 30$ ; (iv)  $y = 20$ . The problems are arranged in order of difficulty, the first being the easiest to solve. The first and second of the four problems presuppose simpler forms, devoid of the complication created by the subtraction of  $(x - y)^2$  from  $xy$ .

In the plain normal, albeit unattested, form of these quadratic equation problems we have either  $x - y$  or  $x + y = a$  and  $xy = b$ , when  $b$  is 600. As I noted above, the form with  $x - y$  is the easier and the value of  $a$  is given as 10. The Sumero-Babylonian formula by which one solves the problem is as follows:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} x \\ y \end{array} \right\} = \sqrt{(a/2)^2 + b} \pm a/2$$

There are six steps in the formula:

1.  $10 \div 2 = 5$
2.  $5 \times 5 = 25$
3.  $25 + 600 = 625$
4.  $\sqrt{625} = 25$
5.  $25 + 5 = 30 = x$
6.  $25 - 5 = 20 = y$

The procedure through which one attains the solutions for  $x$  and  $y$  calls in this case for squaring half of 10 to obtain 25, which must then be added to 600. The next step is to find the square root of the sum 625, which is 25. Adding the discriminant 5, the second half of 10, to this root yields 30 as the value of  $x$ . Subtracting the discriminant from 25 leads to 20, the value of  $y$ . It may be observed that the square 625 is crucial in reaching the solutions.

In the form with  $x + y = 50$ , one must first square half of 50 to get 625, which is part of the discriminant that affords the solutions for  $x$  and  $y$ . Here the formula is:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} x \\ y \end{array} \right\} = a/2 \pm \sqrt{(a/2)^2 - b}$$

Again six steps lead to the values for  $x$  and  $y$ :

1.  $50 \div 2 = 25$
2.  $25 \times 25 = 625$
3.  $625 - 600 = 25$
4.  $\sqrt{25} = 5$
5.  $25 + 5 = 30 = x$
6.  $25 - 5 = 20 = y$

Whereas the first and second problems of YBC 6504 exhibit the so-called Diophantine types of quadratic equations, the third and fourth problems<sup>30</sup> establish the kinds of equations which are known as basic types in medieval Arabic algebra.<sup>31</sup> In the third problem<sup>32</sup> where it is given that  $x = a$ , which is thereby 30 rather than 10 or 50, a preliminary maneuver sets up the kind usually stated as  $x^2 + ax = b$ ; howbeit, in this instance  $x - y$  takes the place of  $x$ , so that we have  $(x - y)^2 + 30(x - y) = 400$ . After this, the formula followed is the same as that for  $y$  when the value of  $x - y$  is given at the outset:

$$x - y = \sqrt{(a/2)^2 + b} - a/2,$$

with  $b = 400$  ( $< 30^2 - 500$ ). In review, the following steps enable one to ascertain the value of  $y$ :

1.  $30 \times 30 = 900$  [i.e.,  $30^2$ ]
2.  $900 - 500 = 400$  [i.e.,  $20^2$ ]
3.  $30 \div 2 = 15$
4.  $15 \times 15 = 225$  [i.e.,  $15^2$ ]
5.  $225 + 400 = 625$  [i.e.,  $25^2$ ]
6.  $\sqrt{625} = 25$
7.  $25 - 15 = 10 = x - y$
8.  $30 - 10 = 20 = y$

The mathematician first squares 30 to set up an equation for  $x - y$  before undertaking the procedure which leads to 625 and thence to 10, the difference between 25, the root of 625, and half of 30. Finally, subtracting 10 from 30 gives the value of  $y$ . Once more we see that the square 625 is the vital link between the given numbers and the solutions. The problem also illustrates the logical relationship between 900 and 625.

In a problem for advanced students<sup>33</sup> where the value of  $x - y$  is again stated as 10, the other equation given is  $x^2 + y^2 = 1,300$ . One reaches the solutions by a formula which again follows a route to 625:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} x \\ y \end{array} \right\} = \sqrt{b/2 - (a/2)^2} \pm a/2,$$

<sup>30</sup> The third problem is the counterpart to the first problem, as we see when we compare the formulae for the solutions. The fourth problem, which will not be treated here, is rather elliptical but apparently has in view the kind of equation known from Arabic algebra as  $x^2 + b = ax$ ; being the counterpart to the second problem, it is solved by the same formula.

<sup>31</sup> See Solomon Gandz, "The Origin and Develop-

ment of the Quadratic Equations in Babylonian, Greek, and Early Arabic Algebra," *Osiris* 3 (1937): 405-6; 491-95.

<sup>32</sup> My previous translation and analysis of the problem appear in "Application of Numbers," pp. 338-39.

<sup>33</sup> BM 13901, no. 9, in Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, p. 4.

with  $a = 10$  and  $b = 1,300$ . The procedure calls for the following steps:

1.  $1,300 \div 2 = 650$
2.  $10 \div 2 = 5$
3.  $5 \times 5 = 25$
4.  $650 - 25 = 625$
5.  $\sqrt{625} = 25$
6.  $25 + 5 = 30 = x$
7.  $25 - 5 = 20 = y$

As we see, the square 625 arises as half of  $900 + 400$  diminished by the square of half of 10. Here, as in other procedures presented above, 625 is the pivotal figure leading to the solutions.

From these fundamental sexagesimal problems there emerges an algebraic relationship between 900, on the one hand, and the numbers 600 and 625. The latter two numbers' contiguous occurrences with 900 in Kish I suggest that (i) the Sumerians may have already devised the fundamental quadratic equation problems well before the Old Babylonian period, and (ii) the author of the king list was versed in the algebra of his day. Both conclusions are supported as well by the use (see n. 19) of the squares 400, i.e.,  $y^2$ , and 100, i.e.,  $(x - y)^2$ , which also have important roles in some of these fundamental problems.

### III. PERCENTAGES

As noted, the extant figures assigned in the prism to the First Dynasty of Kish seem to be arranged by pairs. Perhaps, as I have suggested above, the pattern arose by analogy with the last two reigns, for these two were recognized as a distinct group. The sixteenth and seventeenth rulers also make a natural pair, since they have the same father. Therefore, I have tentatively positioned the three restored numbers in the initial series in accordance with this pattern. The first six pairs thus constituted also seem to form a pair of related triads, which can be detected most easily when we read the last three pairs inversely:

<i>Subgroup a:</i>	1.	1,200	3.	[900] ? <sup>34</sup>	5. [960] ?
	2.	960	4.	[6,000] ?	6. [840] ?
<i>Subgroup b:</i>	11.	840	9.	900	7. 960
	12.	720	10.	600	8. 840

In this arrangement, admittedly provisional, the pairs devoid of 900 make a sort of diminishing progression. In fact, the first and last pairs display the progression in its entirety: 1,200, 960, 840, 720.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Thus the Nippur fragment CBS 14223; see Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 78, n. 43.

<sup>35</sup> If the reconstruction is right, the fourth pair (960 and 840), by repeating the third, seems to carry

the progression into another subgroup. Continuity is also provided by replication of the second member of a pair in the first member of a subsequent pair. Thus 960 from the first pair begins the third



In a mathematical approach to the four numbers in question, the most satisfying interpretation is that their author first established 1,200 as the fundamental figure and then arrived at the smaller ones by taking percentages of it.<sup>36</sup> Percentage problems were familiar ground to the Mesopotamian mathematician. A typical case<sup>37</sup> depicts two flocks of sheep. The size of each flock is described in mathematical terms as 100 percent, although the flocks are unequal in size. The production records in lambing, again stated as percentages, also are not alike. Given (i) the percentages, (ii) the difference between the number of sheep in the two flocks, and (iii) the difference between the number of lambs produced by each flock, one can determine the size of each flock and the number of lambs each produced. Ten numbers, stated here in decimal equivalents, accompany the problem described:

100	3,000	500
80	2,400	
100	2,500	650
70	1,750	

On the right-hand side 500 represents the difference in the size of the two flocks and 650 the difference in the number of offspring. The numbers in the middle column are the solutions to the problem; for each flock we have (i) the number of sheep in the flock and (ii) the number of lambs produced. The numbers on the left are percentages. The original sheep are taken as 100 percent. Since there are two flocks, the number 100 occurs twice. The numbers 80 and 70 are the percentages of reproduction for the respective flocks. The percentages selected may seem fairly realistic, but that is probably not why they were chosen. The most plausible explanation for their usage is that they are the result of subtracting from 100 the two most favored numbers in Babylonian mathematics, 20 and 30. Hence,  $100 - 20 = 80$  and  $100 - 30 = 70$ .

According to my hypothesis, the point of departure—by mathematical priority as well as sequence in a set—for the first series of regnal spans in Kish I is the number 1,200. Thereafter, the list provides numbers—each a multiple of 10—that are percentages of 1,200. If 1,200 is the equivalent of 100 percent, then 960 and 840 are 80 and 70 percent thereof respectively. The author seems, however, to have availed himself of another percentage besides 70 and 80, for the figure 720 concludes the series. This climactic number is 60 percent of 1,200. I suspect that this percentage was chosen for the same reason that the percentages 70 and 80 appear in problem texts. All three numbers are reached by subtracting from 100 the preeminent entries in the right-hand column of the reciprocal tables. The first three entries in that column are 40, 30, and

pair, and 840 from the fourth pair appears in the sixth pair.

<sup>36</sup> Reading the numbers superficially, one may get the impression that they are simply multiples of a certain figure, such as 60 or 120. That haphazard conjecture, however, does not deal with the question as to why these particular multiples and not others were used. For example, in a strict diminishing progression with multiples of 120 extending from

1,200 to 720, we should find the number 1,080, the product of  $9 \times 120$ . Why does it not appear? Among the possible explanations, one is decidedly the most probable because of its simplicity. The author did not effect the progression by multiplying with 120.

<sup>37</sup> YBC 7326 in Neugebauer and Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, pp. 130–31 (with references to related problem texts) and pls. 17 and 43.

20. The initial entry<sup>38</sup> is the probable source of 60 percent (that is,  $100 - 40 = 60$ ), and 60 percent applied to 1,200 provides a regnal span of 720 years. Resorting to 60 percent may well have been an innovative step, for the known problems of this sort do not posit more than a pair of percentages. An additional percentage was appropriate, however, in bringing a diminishing progression to an end.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

In summary, regarding the nine regnal spans attested in the Weld-Blundell text for the first series in Kish I, I have proposed the following:

- (i) 1,200 = 100%, from  $30 \times \{30 + (30 - 20)\}$ ;
- (ii) 960 =  $100\% - 20 = 80\%$ ;
- (iii) 840 =  $100\% - 30 = 70\%$ ;<sup>39</sup>
- (iv) 720 =  $100\% - 40 = 60\%$ ;
- (v) 900 =  $30 \times 30$ ;
- (vi) 600 =  $30 \times 20$ .

If the foregoing analysis is correct, the author of the regnal spans utilized for this dynasty (i) the algebraically important number 1,200 and four derivatives, viz., 1,560, 960, 840, and 720; (ii) 600, the product of 30 and 20; (iii) 900 and 400, the squares of 30 and 20 respectively; and (iv) the square 625. In particular, the latter number points strikingly to the numerical associations in quadratic equation problems, the more so since it follows 900, which is  $x^2$  in the selfsame problems. The figure 625 is, in fact, the culminating square in the calculations called for by two fundamental formulae. In light of this, its position at the very end of these regnal spans, preceded by 900, is altogether appropriate.

Still other numbers in Kish I may be explained by taking into consideration the nature of the dynastic length as an elected total. My previous article in this journal<sup>40</sup> dealt with the probability that some dynastic spans in the king list were determined prior to the allocation of their regnal spans. Their author may well have settled upon the number of years for the First Dynasty of Kish by a pure quadratic equation for  $x - y$ . This is indeed the case if "month" and "day" in the total, like the surface measures of distance and area in some mathematical texts, do not carry a concrete meaning but are mere devices for constructing a mathematical exercise.<sup>41</sup> Expressions for surface mensuration would, of course, be out of place in a context such as the king

<sup>38</sup> The number 40 does not have this position because of its status as a reciprocal but as the fraction  $\frac{2}{3}$ . However, that fact is irrelevant. In a standard table, 40 fittingly recurs opposite its reciprocal 1,30; together they make the twentieth pair in the list.

<sup>39</sup> Inasmuch as the thirteenth regnal span (1,560) is 30% more than 1,200, one might conclude, perhaps erroneously, that the figure was reached through  $100\% + 30\%$ , whereas it may be thought of more plausibly as the sum of 70% (840) and 60% (720).

<sup>40</sup> See n. 5 above.

<sup>41</sup> Examples abound in which it becomes obvious that the description of a rectangle must not be taken literally. Commenting on the abstract interest in numerical relationships in mathematical problems from the third millennium, Powell observes that in one instance the rectangle depicted is 256 times as long as it is wide; in another case the rectangle's length is almost 1,300 km ("Antecedents," pp. 425 and 429).

list, but it is conceivable that words for measures of time might appropriately convey numerical information essential to the understanding of the otherwise obscure figure 24,510. In any event, the addition of the seemingly inconsequential 3 months and 3½ days to such a fantastic number of years gives one pause. Just to note half a day arouses suspicion. It is also true that when we let "month" have the value of 10,0 (=  $xy$ ) and see "day" as a conveyor of unity (= 1,0), we may establish a quadratic equation:  $n^2(x - y)^2 + 3xy + 3,30 = 6,48,30 = \text{decimal } 24,510$ . Knowing that  $xy$  is 10,0 (i.e., decimal 600), by substitution we ascertain that  $n^2(x - y)^2 = 6,48,30 - (3 \times 10,0) - 3,30 = 6,15,0 = \text{decimal } 22,500$ . Since 6,15,0 is the square of 2,30 (i.e., decimal 150),<sup>42</sup> it follows that  $x - y$  is 10 and  $n$  is 15. Thus, there is a solid mathematical footing for the number 24,510 based on the values 30 and 20 for  $x$  and  $y$  respectively. This incredible figure has the added benefit in its favor that clues could be given through incremental months and days for others trained in the same mathematics to perceive how its author had arrived at it.

Now, quadratic equation problems with  $n^2(x - y)^2$  were hardly unknown in the early history of sexagesimal mathematics. An Old Babylonian text<sup>43</sup> has two problems, one for  $x$  and one for  $y$ , with step-by-step instructions which are more fully explained than those in other quadratic equation problem texts. It is particularly advantageous to utilize for  $n^2$  the two smallest squares other than 1, viz., 9 and 4, as the textbook examples do, because then the term  $n^2(x - y)^2$  is equal to either  $x^2$  or  $y^2$ , as the Mesopotamian mathematician took pains to impress upon students in the problem text. Nevertheless, for one to formulate such a problem, it is essential only that the numerical coefficient of  $(x - y)^2$  is a square itself. The square of 15 is, then, one of many possible factors. But is it a factor here? While 225 is the one square encountered in the foundational quadratic equation problems that does not appear as a regnal span in the king list, one cannot prove, unfortunately, that it was actually utilized in selecting 24,510 years as the duration of the First Dynasty of Kish. Taking this possibility into consideration with the other algebraic numbers assigned to the dynasty, at best we can accept it only as an inference fairly drawn from mathematics.

By the two types of computations discussed in this study, we account for all but three numbers preserved on the prism for Kish I. The exceptional spans are 660, 140, and 305. These three figures may have been contrived in part to attain a preconceived total, inasmuch as it may be difficult to achieve such a sum by means of the various numbers chosen on mathematical grounds.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, we may find in one or more numbers of a given dynasty features which are not to be explained mathematically.<sup>45</sup> For example, since all the numbers in Kish I except two are multiples of 10, the 5 in 305 suggests by itself an effort to round out the 5 of the square 625 to the 10 in

<sup>42</sup> It happens that this root and its square are the only entries on a tablet of small dimensions (6½ by 5½ cm.; YBC 7294; see Neugebauer and Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, p. 35). To the left of a line drawn parallel to the longer side, the number 2,30 was inscribed twice in a large hand; to the right of the line, we find the entry 6,15. Practice with squares in which the roots advance by increments of 30 is suggested also by the fragmentary

tablet CBS 1535 (*Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, p. 34).

<sup>43</sup> VAT 8390, edited by Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens*, pp. 112–15.

<sup>44</sup> This is particularly so when repetition of pairs is involved.

<sup>45</sup> For a comparable instance see my remarks concerning the makeup of Mari's regnal spans in "Mathematical Approach," p. 124, n. 12.



24,510; the 5 may have been put with 300 rather than elsewhere simply by attraction, for in the cuneiform orthography 300 is also 5. In a similar manner 140 might have evolved from sexagesimal 1,40 (i.e., decimal 100) plus 40.

This line of thought assumes that the author preliminarily filled the slots for the fifteenth and eighteenth regnal spans with hundreds, viz., 600 ( $= xy$ )<sup>46</sup> and 100 (the square of the highly useful factor  $x - y$ ) respectively, both of which are members of the algebraic family derived from 30 and 20.<sup>47</sup> Each was then increased somewhat, so that the sum of the increments and the contrived span of 305 years, viz.,  $60 + 40 + (300 + 5)$ , compensated for an incidental shortfall of 405 which arose in the endeavor to attain exactly 24,510 years and which could not be allowed to interfere with the overall scheme. Of course, the author might have simply allotted 405 years, instead of 305, to the nineteenth reign. That he chose not to do so is no more wrongheaded than the mathematician's decision to diminish  $xy$  by  $(x - y)^2$  in the fundamental quadratic equation problems outlined above. These and other Mesopotamian mathematical problems repeatedly demonstrate an inclination to introduce an unusual twist that makes the way to the solution a bit more complicated than necessary. To the students schooled in this curriculum a novel treatment was commonplace.

<sup>46</sup> If this is so, there was originally a pair consisting of 400 ( $= y^2$ ) followed by 600 corresponding to 900 ( $= x^2$ ) and 600, the ninth and tenth regnal spans respectively.

<sup>47</sup> In the main, the family or group is delineated in sec. II above.



# A NEW INTERPRETATION OF AN EDMITE SEAL IMPRESSION\*

SCOTT C. LAYTON, Longview, Texas

IN the second season of excavations at Buseirah in southern Jordan, a seal impression was discovered in a stratified occupation level running up to the outer face of a wall.<sup>1</sup> The face of the impression divides into four registers. While the first register consists of three geometric designs, presumably buildings, the three remaining registers contain a short inscription:

lmlkl  
b<sup>c</sup>bd  
hmlk



FIG. 1.—Drawing of Edomite seal impression (scale 2:1) (after C.-M. Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1972: Preliminary Report," *Levant* 6 [1974]: 19, fig. 17, included here with the permission of Piotr Bienkowski).

One of the site supervisors gave an immediate reading: "belonging to *MLKLB*<sup>2</sup>—the servant of the king."

All subsequent studies<sup>3</sup> of this seal impression accept this reading of the inscription, and an examination of the published photographs confirms its accuracy. Yet this very

\* This study was completed during a National Endowment for the Humanities Post-Doctoral Fellowship at the W. F. Albright Institute in Jerusalem. I would like to thank NEH and the American Schools of Oriental Research for facilitating my study in Israel.

<sup>1</sup> C.-M. Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan 1972: Preliminary Report," *Levant* 6 (1974): 18–19 and pl. 6 B. The discovery of the seal impression was also reported in "Chronique archéologique," *RB* 81 (1974): 76, with an accompanying photograph (pl. 4 b).

<sup>2</sup> As noted already by A. Lemaire, "Note on an Edomite Seal-Impression from Buseirah," *Levant* 7 (1975): 18, n. 3, the writing <sup>3</sup>aleph (i.e., lb<sup>2</sup>) instead of <sup>3</sup>ayin in *Levant* 6 (1974): 19 is a typographical error.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Vattioni, "Sigilli ebraici. III," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione*



reading creates a problem on another level—the interpretive one. The vocable *lb<sup>c</sup>*, apparently the second element of a compound theophoric name, has no parallel in West Semitic onomastica, and furthermore, the root *l-b-<sup>c</sup>* is unknown in West Semitic. Scholars are faced with an insoluble dilemma: a perfectly clear reading which yields a meaningless name element.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this note is to suggest a new interpretation of this inscription, one which resolves the problem of the enigmatic vocable *lb<sup>c</sup>* on the basis of well-known principles and parallels, the relevance of which has not been recognized with respect to the interpretation of this seal impression. It will, however, be necessary to review previous attempts at solving the riddle of the meaning of this inscription and to point out their shortcomings before proposing a new interpretation.

In an appendix to the third report of the excavations at Buseirah, A. Lemaire suggested a solution to the enigma.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of the fact that the *dalet* at the end of line 2 was written upside down, Lemaire contends that the engraver was illiterate, and therefore he did not hesitate to rearrange the letters of the inscription in order to produce a kind of symmetry. That is, instead of engraving *\*lmlkb/ᵑ<sup>c</sup>bd . . .*, the engraver shifted the *lamed* from the second line of writing to the end of the first line of writing, thus producing *lmlkl/b<sup>c</sup>d . . .* By this transposition, a two-fold symmetry was achieved: (1) in line 1, the first, third, and fifth letters are *lamed*, framing the *mem* and *kaph*; and (2) in line 2, the first four letters, *b<sup>c</sup>b*, are symmetrically (chiastically?) arranged. Lemaire's interpretation yields the name *\*mlkb<sup>c</sup>l*, which, as he notes, corresponds well to the Phoenician-Punic name *b<sup>c</sup>lmlk<sup>6</sup>* and to other names of the type *\*mlk* + divine name [e.g., Hebrew *mlkîyāh(û)*]. Lastly, Lemaire claims that the theophoric element *b<sup>c</sup>l* is elsewhere attested in the Edomite onomasticon in the name *lb<sup>c</sup>zr<sup>l</sup>ᵑ<sup>c</sup>b<sup>c</sup>dyb<sup>c</sup>l* on a seal from Petra<sup>7</sup> and in the name *š[.]b<sup>c</sup>l* on ostrakon 2070 (line 5) from Tell el-Kheleifeh.<sup>8</sup>

Lemaire's interpretation is ingenious, and several scholars have adopted it.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, it is highly speculative, and the argument falls apart upon closer examination.

*Oriente (AION)* n.s. 28 (1978): 242 (seal no. 319). Other studies will be discussed below. It suffices to mention here that this reading was accepted by L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, Harvard Semitic Monograph Series, no. 18 (Missoula, Montana, 1978), pp. 163–64; and by E. Puech, "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," *Levant* 9 (1977): 12, who declared this reading "absolument certaine." On p. 13, n. 13, Puech adds: "Il est difficile d'invoquer une orthographe fautive pour *mlklb<sup>c</sup>*."

<sup>4</sup> Compare J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1975," *Syria* 52 (1975): 272 (reprinted in *Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique* [1964–80] [Paris, 1986], p. 324), who candidly admitted: "Le groupe *mlklb<sup>c</sup>* pourtant ne veut rien dire."

<sup>5</sup> Lemaire, "Edomite Seal-Impression," pp. 18–19.

<sup>6</sup> F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, *Studia Pohl*, no. 8 (Rome, 1972), p. 96.

<sup>7</sup> G. R. Driver, "Seals from Amman and Petra," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 11 (1945): 82 and pl. 18.

<sup>8</sup> N. Glueck, "Seals from Elath," *BASOR* 82 (1941): 7–11; idem, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore and London, 1971), pp. 229–31; J. Naveh, "ᵑ<sup>c</sup>ktbm šl šny ᵑ<sup>c</sup>wstrqwnym m<sup>l</sup>l," *Yediot* 30 (1966): 39–41 (in English translation, "The Scripts of Two Ostraca from Elath," *BASOR* 183 [1966]: 27–28). F. M. Cross, Jr., "Jar Inscriptions from Shiqmona," *IEJ* 18 (1968): 229, n. 21, extends Naveh's decipherment a bit further and reads the name *š<sup>c</sup>m<sup>l</sup>rb<sup>c</sup>l*, but this reading does not affect the argument here.

<sup>9</sup> Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah (Biblical Bozrah)," in J. F. A. Sawyer and D. J. A. Clines, eds., *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia*, JSOT Supplement Ser. no. 24 (Sheffield, 1983), p. 11; M. Ohana and M. Heltzer, *The Extra-Biblical Tradition of Hebrew Personal Names* (Haifa, 1978), p. 56 and n. 401; F. Israel, "Observations on Northwest Semitic Seals," *Or.* n.s. 55 (1986): 76.

Lemaire's point of departure is the assumption that the upside-down *dalet* is an indicator of illiteracy on the part of the scribe. However, the letters on this Edomite seal impression are not crudely formed, as one might expect from an illiterate scribe,<sup>10</sup> and the upside-down *dalet* is now found on another Edomite seal<sup>11</sup> and on two Moabite seals.<sup>12</sup> In no instance may we regard the peculiar stance of the *dalet* as betraying scribal illiteracy. Moreover, the argument based on symmetry is too speculative,<sup>13</sup> and the radical transposition of the *lamed* from line 2 to line 1 is without parallel in seal inscriptions. While names, patronyms, or titles may be divided and split between different registers, the direction of reading the inscription—from top to bottom and from right to left—remains virtually undisturbed. Finally, it should be underscored that the theophoric element *bʿl* is not attested otherwise in the Edomite onomasticon. The recent studies on the seal from Petra now classify it as Ammonite and improve the reading to *lbʿzrʿl ʿbd hbʿl*.<sup>14</sup> As for ostrakon 2070, both the script—Phoenician cursive—and the name *ʿbdʿš[mn]* in line 2 of the obverse argue for its classification as Phoenician.<sup>15</sup> The combined force of these objections seriously undermines Lemaire's proposal.

E. Puech rightly rejected Lemaire's interpretation of the seal and sought to interpret the name as it stands.<sup>16</sup> Having noted that the name of this servant of the king of Edom was not otherwise known in the West Semitic onomasticon, he compared the name *lbʿl*, attested on Thamudic graffiti from Wadi el-ʿAin. But as he himself sensed, this name is a rather remote parallel, a feminine rather than a masculine form, and one of unknown etymology. Therefore, he went on to propose that the element *lbʿ* represents emphatic *lamed* before either the verb *bʿh*, or even better, *nbʿ*, in *\*qtl* or *\*yqtl*.<sup>17</sup>

Puech's proposal is also difficult to accept. To cite names containing an emphatic *lamed* is to appeal to a very rare onomastic type. Apart from the Aramaic name *ʿdnlrn*, which appears on a graffito from Hamath (ninth–eighth centuries B.C.E.),<sup>18</sup> the

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Y. Aharoni, ed., *Beer-Sheba I: Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–71 Seasons* (Tel Aviv, 1973), pp. 73–74, who pointed toward crudely formed letters as an indicator of scribal illiteracy.

<sup>11</sup> N. Glueck, "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion Geber)," *BASOR* 71 (1938): 15–18 and fig. 6: *lqwsʿnl ʿbd hmlk*. For further bibliography, see Vattioni, "Sigilli ebraici," p. 373 (seal no. 119).

<sup>12</sup> Israel, "Studi moabiti I: Rassegna di epigrafia moabiti e i sigilli moabiti," in G. Bernini and V. Brugnatelli, eds., *Atti della 4a Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei (Bergamo, Istituto Universitario, 29 novembre 1985)* (Milan, 1987), pp. 111–12 and fig. 6 (p. 132): *lmʿʿ dʿl*; and pp. 119–20 and fig. 26 (p. 136 hand-copy): *lmnḥmt ʿšt gdmk*. In an earlier study, idem, "Miscellanea Idumea," *Rivista Biblica* 27 (1979): 176, he had classified the last-mentioned seal as Edomite on the basis of the upside-down *dalet*. Now he no longer considers the upside-down *dalet* as an exclusive characteristic of Edomite script. See his remarks in "Supplementum Idumeum I," *Rivista Biblica* 35 (1987): 338.

<sup>13</sup> In fact, the upside-down *dalet* at the end of line

2 destroys the symmetry of that line.

<sup>14</sup> Israel, "Supplementum Idumeum," p. 338; idem, "Les Sceaux ammonites," *Syria* 64 (1987): 142. The new reading is based on Bordreuil's study of the seal ("Les Sceaux des grandes personnalités," *Le Monde de la Bible* 46 [1986]: 45). The presence of the definite article seems to suggest that *bʿl* is not a proper noun but a common noun. In a letter to me dated 28 December 1988, Lemaire expressed his disagreement with this reading, but it does not affect the point being made here.

<sup>15</sup> Naveh, "ʿwstrqwnym mʿlt," pp. 39–41 (in English translation, "Two Ostraca from Elath," pp. 27–28); idem, *Early History of the Alphabet*, 2d ed., rev. (Jerusalem, 1987), p. 60; Cross, "Jar Inscriptions," p. 229, n. 21; Puech, "Documents épigraphiques," p. 13, n. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Puech, "Documents épigraphiques," p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. In his review of Heltzer and Ohana, *The Extra-Biblical Tradition of Hebrew Personal Names*, in *RB* 88 (1981): 271, Puech briefly reiterates his view, describing the *lamed* as a precativ particle.

<sup>18</sup> H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1968), text no. 203.

other examples commonly cited are isolated occurrences from the second millennium B.C.E., and therefore these names can hardly serve as a point of comparison.<sup>19</sup> Why the verb *nb<sup>c</sup>* is preferable to *b<sup>ch</sup>* remains to be seen, since neither of these verbs is utilized in the formation of West Semitic names. Their absence from the West Semitic onomasticon is all the more understandable since the meanings listed for these verbs in Hebrew lexica are not particularly suited for theophoric names.

Having exposed the weaknesses of previous attempts at interpreting the inscription, the way has been cleared for a new interpretation. We propose that the name of the servant of the Edomite king was not *mlk<sup>b<sup>c</sup></sup>* but simply *mlkl*. Having said this, the letters *b<sup>c</sup>* remain to be explained. Thus the interpretation of this inscription will be presented in two steps and begin with the name itself.

The name *mlkl* is a compound theophoric name consisting of two elements: (1) *\*mlk* "king,"<sup>20</sup> and (2) *\*l*, a common noun, "god," or a proper noun, "El." It may be compared with the biblical name *malki<sup>2l</sup>* (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:45; 1 Chron. 7:31), meaning "my king is god/El," and with the elements reversed, the biblical name *ēlīmelek* (Ruth 1:2 ff.) and the Ugaritic name *ilmlk*.<sup>21</sup> The omission of *aleph* in the spelling of this Edomite name finds parallels in the West Semitic onomasticon. One does not have to search long to find examples of the omission of initial *aleph* or medial *aleph* in the spelling of West Semitic names.<sup>22</sup> But the relevance of many of these examples is not immediately clear, for the *aleph* may have been omitted in the spelling for one or more reasons which we cannot specify. As being most relevant to the interpretation of the Edomite name, I have decided to cite in the following table only those compound names of identical or similar structure (e.g., noun or verb + *\*l*), in which the *aleph* of the element *\*l*, in medial position, has been omitted in the spelling. Then I will suggest a uniform explanation that accounts for the omission of *aleph* in the spelling of this series of names. Unless otherwise indicated, the names which are cited are personal names.

Ammonite *šm<sup>cl</sup>*<sup>23</sup>

Ammonite *hwš<sup>cl</sup>*<sup>24</sup>

Phoenician *bd<sup>l</sup>*<sup>25</sup>

Hebrew *mīkal* (1 Sam. 14:49)

Hebrew *b<sup>a</sup>tūl* (place name—Josh. 19:4)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See F. Nötscher, "Zum emphatischen Lamed," *VT* 3 (1953): 376–77. Not all of the examples cited are convincing.

<sup>20</sup> The vocable *\*mlk* could represent a divine name, but this is less likely, and at any rate, it does not affect the argument. For a brief discussion, see J. H. Tigay, *You Shall Have No Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions*, Harvard Semitic Studies, no. 31 (Atlanta, 1986), p. 77, n. 18.

<sup>21</sup> F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Studia Pohl, no. 1 (Rome, 1967), p. 158. One might also cite various West Semitic names in (syllabic) cuneiform writing composed of the elements *\*milku* and *\*ilu*. See I. J. Gelb et al., *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*, Assyriologi-

cal Studies 21 (Chicago, 1980), pp. 321–22; J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1908 and 1915), vol. 2, pp. 1563 and 1565; Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 157.

<sup>22</sup> Benz, *Personal Names*, pp. 202–3; Gröndahl, *Personennamen*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> P. Bordreuil, "Inscriptions sigillaires ouest-sémitiques I: Epigraphie ammonite," *Syria* 50 (1973): 189–90.

<sup>24</sup> A. Lemaire, "Sept sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985): 31\*.

<sup>25</sup> Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 203.

<sup>26</sup> This place name is not to be confused with the better known Bethel, which in the Hebrew Bible is always spelled *bêt(-)ēl*. At Josh. 19:4, the miniscules e, j, g, and p read βαίθ (= *\*bayt*-). At Josh. 15:30,



Hebrew *hayyišm<sup>c</sup>ēlī* (gentile—1 Chron. 27:30)<sup>27</sup>

Hebrew *yšm<sup>c</sup>l*<sup>28</sup>

Aramaic *gbryl*<sup>29</sup>

Aramaic *zr<sup>c</sup>l*<sup>30</sup>

Aramaic *yd<sup>c</sup>l*<sup>31</sup>

As mentioned above, the omission of א letter in the spelling of a name may be explained in several different ways. One might suppose that the omission of the <sup>2</sup>aleph in the spelling of the Edomite name or the other names listed above results either from scribal error of haplography<sup>32</sup> or from abbreviation in the spelling of a name due to space limitations.<sup>33</sup> Whichever explanation is preferred, it should account for the omission of <sup>2</sup>aleph in each of these proper names. Haplography would fail to explain why <sup>2</sup>aleph, as opposed to any other letter, is consistently omitted in this series of names. Likewise, the assumption of abbreviation due to space limitations is inadequate, since other letters, especially those in final position, would most likely be dropped first. Also one should recall that most of the names cited above do not occur on seals or seal impressions, where space limitations might play a role. For the Aramaic personal names *yd<sup>c</sup>l* and *zr<sup>c</sup>l*, E. Lipiński proposed that the <sup>2</sup>aleph has been

which is a list of the same three places mentioned in 19:4, the MT has *k<sup>2</sup>sil* where one would expect the place name Bethul. This reading appears to be nothing more than textual corruption and indirectly supports a reconstruction such as *\*btw/yl*, with no <sup>2</sup>aleph, as in Josh. 19:4. Codex Vaticanus at Josh. 15:30 reads βαθηλ (= *\*bayt<sup>2</sup>ēl*). Finally, the evidence comes full circle if, as is probable, the place name Bethu(e)l of 1 Chronicles and Joshua may be equated with the place name *bêt<sup>2</sup>ēl* of 1 Sam. 30:27 (so S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. [Oxford, 1913], p. 225). Contrast P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *1 Samuel*, Anchor Bible, vol. 8 (Garden City, New York, 1980), pp. 434, 436, who follows the reading of Codex Vaticanus (βαθουρ) and restores Bethzur.

<sup>27</sup> Contrast the spelling of the name *yšmā<sup>c</sup>ē(<sup>2</sup>)l*, in which the <sup>2</sup>aleph is retained as a historical spelling.

<sup>28</sup> J. Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic: The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 36 (in Hebrew). The language of the inscription is Aramaic.

<sup>29</sup> K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), p. 731, in a Christian Palestinian Aramaic papyrus dating from the eighth century C.E.

<sup>30</sup> J. Friedrich, "Denkmäler mit westsemitischer Buchstabenschrift," in *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf: Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt*, Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 6 (Berlin, 1940), pp. 71 (reverse, l. 5) and 73. At same site, the name of the same person occurs in Akkadian texts as *m<sup>2</sup>zēr-<sup>2</sup>i-ila*

(p. 73, n. 70).

<sup>31</sup> M. Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, vol. 38 (Leipzig, 1921), p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> For example, S. Talmon, "The Ancient Hebrew Alphabet and Biblical Textual Criticism," in P. Casetti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker, eds., *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Etudes bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire*, Orbis Biblicus orientalis, vol. 38 (Fribourg and Göttingen, 1981), p. 513, explains the reading *b<sup>2</sup>tūl* (cited above) in Josh. 19:4 as resulting from haplography (*\*bt(w)<sup>2</sup>l* > *\*bt(w)l*), facilitated by the resemblance between <sup>2</sup>aleph and *taw* in the ancient Hebrew script. For examples of haplography in personal names, see Tigay, *No Other Gods*, p. 68, n. 20: *\*b<d>šlm*, and B. Mazar, "The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount—Second Preliminary Report, 1969–70 Seasons," *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1971): 23 and fig. 16:20 (in English translation, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons 1969–70* [Jerusalem, 1971], p. 28 and fig. 16:20): *yš<sup>c</sup><y>hw*.

<sup>33</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. ii9–20 (inscription no. 107); N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae From the Time of Jeremiah: Remnants of a Burnt Archive* (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 40–41 (seal no. 25); Y. Shiloh, "*qbwšt bwlwt 'brywt m'yr dwd*," *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985): 81 (in English translation, "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from the City of David," *IEJ* 36 [1986]: 30–31).

assimilated to the voiced pharyngeal ʿayin.<sup>34</sup> Of course, this hypothesis fails to account for those names listed above which do not contain the letter ʿayin; moreover, the consistent spelling of the name *yšmāʿē(ʿ)l* in the Hebrew Bible points toward another explanation: the spelling of this series of names reflects a phonological process, the quiescence of ʾaleph.<sup>35</sup> It would also seem likely that at least some of the West Semitic names which reflect sandhi writing (for example, *mil-ki-li* or *mi-il-ki-li* in the Amarna texts)<sup>36</sup> may be explained along the same lines.

With the meaning of the name established, we turn to the second step in our interpretation of the inscription. After the name *mlkl*, but before the title ʿbd *hmlk*, stand the letters *bʿ*. At first glance, it may be thought that this pair of letters defies explanation as did the element *lbʿ* of previous interpretations. But once the correct segmentation between words has been determined, a new solution for explaining the remaining two letters, *bʿ*, emerges. We may agree that the letters *bʿ* are meaningless. In fact, these two letters are scribal errors, resulting from the metathesis of the first two letters of the following vocable \*ʿbd, "servant." After the scribe transposed the letters ʿayin and beth, he noticed his error and then correctly engraved the vocable \*ʿbd. According to this explanation, the dittography would be intentional, while the metathesis is an unintentional scribal error.

Instances of scribal error, including metathesis, are known elsewhere in West Semitic names. F. L. Benz lists some seven examples of metathesis in Phoenician-Punic names. The most indisputable example is the Punic name ʿbdʿšnm (< \*ʿbdʿšmn).<sup>37</sup> Two other examples merit consideration. First, the Hebrew name *sʿl* has recently turned up on a bulla. As noted by Avigad, this is a new name and one of unknown etymology.<sup>38</sup> We suggest that the name *sʿl* is a metathetic variant of the name \*slʿ. The latter name is well attested in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>39</sup> on Hebrew seals and bullae,<sup>40</sup> and in Aramaic documents from Elephantine.<sup>41</sup> Second, the Hebrew name *hwrš* occurs on a seal.<sup>42</sup> On the basis of comparison with the Hebrew name *hrwš* (2 Kings 21:19), P. Bordreuil

<sup>34</sup> E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 1 (Louvain, 1975), pp. 106, 122, citing the earlier study of E. Littmann, "Semitische Parallelen zur assimilatorischen Wirkung des ʿAjīn," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 47 (1910): 62–64.

<sup>35</sup> As duly noted by M. O'Connor, "The Ammonite Onomasticon: Semantic Problems," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25 (1987): 54, n. 36, with respect to the Ammonite name *šmʿl*. Therefore, we must take exception to the interpretation of M. Baldacci, review of K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age in AION* 45 (1985): 520, who misanalyzes both elements of Ammonite *šmʿl* and hence translates "the Name is High" (< \*šm + \*ʿl). Finally, note the salutary remarks of J. Weingreen, *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford and New York, 1982), pp. 66–67, who, in discussing the omission of ʾaleph in spelling, states that "... many of the rules involving internal changes in words are simply statements of what actually happened in speech and of

the tendency to represent such changes by corresponding modifications in spelling."

<sup>36</sup> For references, see n. 21 above.

<sup>37</sup> Benz, *Personal Names*, pp. 201–2.

<sup>38</sup> Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae*, p. 88 (bulla no. 131).

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 89, provides a list of the different spellings of this name in the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>40</sup> Note *slʿ* (Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae*, p. 88; this bulla, no. 132, is from the same assemblage); *slʿ* (Bordreuil, "Inscriptions sigillaires ouest-sémitiques," p. 185, n. 4); *slʿ* (A. Reifenberg, "Some Ancient Hebrew Seals," *PEQ* 72 [1939]: 196); *slʿ* (Shiloh, "qbwšt bwlwt," p. 80 [bulla no. 35] [in English translation, "Group of Hebrew Bullae," p. 29]).

<sup>41</sup> W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. Sitzungsberichte, vol. 333 (Vienna, 1978), p. 64; M. H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, vol. 217 (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), p. 160; *slwʿ*; *slwʿh*; *slwh*.

<sup>42</sup> D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), pp. 181–82 (seal no. 22).

avers that the spelling of the name on the seal is a result of metathesis.<sup>43</sup> For a possible example of dittography, we may mention an Aramaic seal which reads *lsryh bn bnsmrnr*, "belonging to SRYH, son of BNSMRNR."<sup>44</sup> W. F. Albright proposed that an unskilled Aramean scribe erroneously repeated the word *bn* twice and that the patronym would actually have been *smrnr*.<sup>45</sup> Inasmuch as West Semitic personal names are not generally composed of three elements (*bn* + *smr* + *nr*?),<sup>46</sup> this explanation has a high degree of plausibility to it.<sup>47</sup>

To sum up: the name of the servant of the Edomite king is *mlkl* (< \**mlk<sup>l</sup>*), a phonetic spelling which reflects the quiescence of <sup>2</sup>*aleph*, and the two letters which are left over, *b<sup>c</sup>*, may be explained as a metathetic scribal error. This interpretation of the Edomite seal impression is supported by similar phenomena, such as phonetic spelling and metathesis, in other West Semitic names. Consequently, the Edomite vocable \**lb<sup>c</sup>* may now be considered a ghost word and struck from the Edomite lexicon.

<sup>43</sup> Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du Louvre et du Musée Biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1986), p. 48. Cf. also Neo-Assyrian *ha-ru-ša-a* and Nabatean *hrwšw* cited by R. Zadok, *Sources for the History of the Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods, with an Appendix on West Semitic Names in 1st-Millennium Mesopotamia* (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 16. From the perspective of morphology, Bordreuil's view derives additional support; \**qātīl* base formations are far more common than are \**qātīl* base formations in the Canaanite onomasticon of the first millennium B.C.E.

<sup>44</sup> Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, pp. 192–93 (seal no. 33).

<sup>45</sup> As mentioned in Diringer, "Three Early Hebrew Seals," *Archiv Orientalni* 18 (1950): 69. On pl. 1:3, note that the scribe apparently botched the *nun* of the first *bn*.

<sup>46</sup> With the exception of preposition-type names, such as *b(y)d<sup>l</sup>*, "in the hand of god/El," *bšl<sup>l</sup>*, "in the shadow of god/El," and the like.

<sup>47</sup> A clear case of dittography occurs in a Hebrew inscription from the Iron Age which was discovered in the City of David excavations directed by the late Y. Shiloh. On a rectangular block of stone (Stratum 10B), which possibly served as a stone-weight, the letters: *ly ly<sup>c</sup>ly*, "(belonging) to Y . . . (belonging) to Y<sup>c</sup>LY" were incised. I thank Joseph Naveh for sharing this unpublished material with me.





## THE CITY OF AMURRU\*

ROBERT R. STIEGLITZ, *Rutgers University, Newark*

As is well known, the Akkadian term *Amurru* was used in a broad geographical sense to mean “the West, the Western Land”; it also referred to a small coastal kingdom in the Lebanon. This kingdom of Amurru was located between Byblos and Arwad and flourished in the latter part of the Late Bronze Age (see fig. 1).

It has generally been overlooked, however, that there was also a city called Amurru located in the land of Amurru. This is attested in cuneiform sources, and there is also a rather puzzling Egyptian reference to a place called Amurru, which, I believe, should be identified with our City of Amurru.

The earliest reference to a city by the name of Amurru comes from Amarna text no. 162.<sup>1</sup> This is a letter from the Pharaoh to the notorious Aziru, the troublesome prince of Amurru. This vassal of the Pharaoh, who later defected to the Hittites, is addressed in this letter by the title “the man of the City of Amurru” (*a[m]êl URU A-mu-ur-ra*, EA 162:1). This title, which is common for the Syro-Palestinian vassals of the Pharaoh,<sup>2</sup> is nevertheless unique for the ruler of Amurru.

I do not believe that the writing “City of Amurru” is a scribal error, for in the very same letter (EA 162:77), the Pharaoh also makes reference to the “land of Amurru” (*KUR A-mur-ri*). This distinction between the “city” and the “land of Amurru” suggests that Aziru resided in the City of Amurru, which was also the capital of the kingdom of Amurru.

A second cuneiform source referring to the City of Amurru is the Akkadian letter RŠ 1957.1, found at Ugarit.<sup>3</sup> This text, which dates to the thirteenth century B.C., is a judgment made before Initeššub, king of the land of Carchemish (written *LUGAL KUR Kar-ka-miš*), and Šauškamuwa,<sup>4</sup> king of the city-state of Amurru (written *LUGAL KUR.URU A-mur-ri*). The text in question is the copy sent to Ammištamru II,<sup>5</sup> king of the city-state of Ugarit (*LUGAL KUR.URU Ū-ga-ri-it*). The judgment concerns the divorce of Ammistamru’s queen Piddu, who was a sister of king Šauškamuwa. We learn from this document that after Piddu was returned to the city-state of Amurru, her brother the king drove her out “from his palace of the City of Amurru” (*iš-tu É. GAL<sup>lim</sup>-šu ša KUR.URU A-mur-ri*) and placed her in another city [*i-na URU<sup>lim</sup> ša-ni-im-ma*].

\* This paper was read at the XXXV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Philadelphia, 11–15 July 1988) on 14 July 1988.

[JNES 50 no. 1 (1991)]

© 1991 by The University of Chicago.

All rights reserved.

0022-2968/91/5001-0004\$1.00.

<sup>1</sup> All references to the Amarna texts are to J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1908 and 1915; reprinted Aalen, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in our letter (EA 162), both the princes of Byblos and Kadesh are addressed exactly as is Aziru: “Man of City X.”

<sup>3</sup> L. R. Fisher, ed., *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, AnOr 48 (Rome, 1971), pp. 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In Ugaritic alphabetic *ṭwīkmw*.

<sup>5</sup> In Ugaritic alphabetic *Amūtmr*.

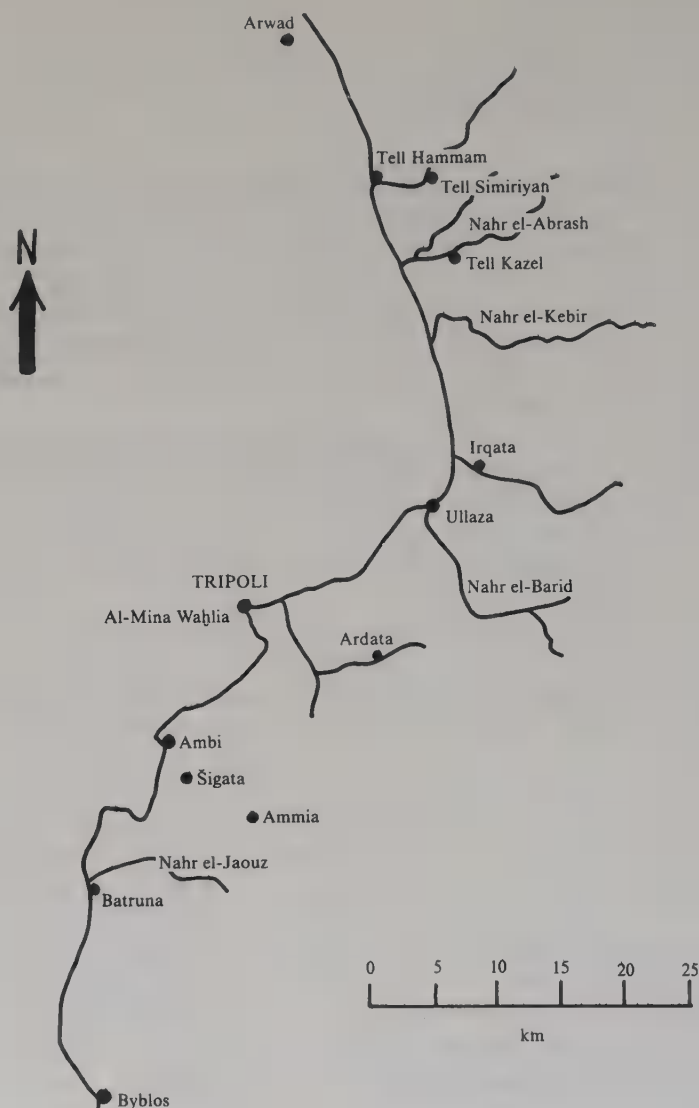


FIG. 1.

In his commentary on this passage, L. R. Fisher observed that this city of Amurru must be the capital of the kingdom of Amurru.<sup>6</sup> He also noted that “we know nothing of the capital of Amurru.” In any event, this text confirms what we have seen is only implied in EA 162, namely, that the king of Amurru resided in a palace in a city also called Amurru. But where was this capital of Amurru? A further clue to its identity is found in our third source of the Late Bronze Age.

<sup>6</sup> Fisher, *Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, p. 13.



In his lengthy accounts of his battle at Kadesh-on-the-Orontes, Pharaoh Ramesses II described vividly how he confronted the Hittite confederation concealed at Kadesh. The passage most pertinent to our discussion here states: "His Majesty had made the first battle force out of all the leaders of his army, and they were upon the shore of the land of Amurru."<sup>7</sup>

The crux of the matter here is *m p<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup> n p<sup>3</sup> ʾImr*, "in the land of the Amurru" (Poem, l. 64). The usual Egyptian term for Amurru is *p<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup> n ʾImr*, "the land of Amurru," without the definite article in front of Amurru. A. H. Gardiner commented upon this passage and stated that the phrase *p<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup> p<sup>3</sup> ʾImr* "defies explanation."<sup>8</sup>

However, if we consider the possibility that the term *P<sup>3</sup> ʾImr* is the name of a city called Amurru, not a reference to the land of Amurru, the problematic phrase becomes quite clear. The special Egyptian battle group prepared by Ramesses II was encamped on the shore near the City of Amurru. Soldiers were stationed there as a strategic reserve, awaiting the command to enter the battlefield when needed. This would indicate that the city of Amurru was near the coast, that it was an Egyptian center in the land of Amurru, and that it was relatively close to Kadesh-on-the-Orontes.

Taking all of these considerations into account, we can now turn back to the Amarna archive and examine evidence therein for an Egyptian military and administrative center on the coast of the Lebanon which would fit all the prerequisites for our City of Amurru. The evidence from the Amarna archive leaves no doubt that only one city in the land of Amurru meets all of these requirements—the city of Šumur.

There are numerous references to Šumur in the Amarna letters. Its role was so prominent in the affairs of Amurru, that O. Weber, in his extensive commentary on the tablets, noted that "Šumur eine Art Hauptstadt von Amurru gewesen ist."<sup>9</sup> The Egyptian district commissioner [LÚ.GAL] resided in Šumur (EA 60, 62, 68, etc.). The city had an Egyptian garrison (EA 289: 30–35), and an Egyptian *ḥrī pḏt*, "brigade commander" (EA 107: 14), was also stationed there.<sup>10</sup>

Šumur was supplied regularly with grain from the royal storehouses at Iarimuta (EA 85, 86), no doubt due to the requirements of the military forces there. In view of its strategic position, it is no wonder that Ramesses II placed his special forces near this city,<sup>11</sup> since from there it is about a day's march to Kadesh-on-the-Orontes by way of the Nahr el-Kebir.

I therefore propose that the city of Šumur was also known by the title "City of Amurru" because it was the principal city in the Egyptian province of Amurru.

<sup>7</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), p. 8. Major works on the Battle of Kadesh are conveniently listed by A. R. Schulman in *JARCE* 1 (1962): 47 and in *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquity* 11 (1981): 7.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, p. 15. E. F. Wente, in his review of Gardiner's *Kadesh Inscriptions*, *JNES* 22 (1963): 205, attempted to solve the difficulty of this passage by arguing that it may be understood as a gentilic. My suggestion is that *P<sup>3</sup> ʾImr* is a city title here and does not mean "Amorite." Thus, *P<sup>3</sup> ʾImr*, "the (City) of Amurru," must be compared to Egyptian *P<sup>3</sup> Knʿn*, which refers not only to Canaan (see, for example, B. Maisler [B.

Mazar], "Canaan and the Canaanites," *BASOR* 102 [1946]: 11 f.), but also to Gaza, "the (City) of Canaan"; see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2d ed. (Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 192.

<sup>9</sup> In Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, pt. 2, p. 1138; Šumur is also mentioned in the Table of Nations, Gen. 10:18.

<sup>10</sup> On this title, see Schulman, "Some Observations on the Military Background of the Amarna Period," *JARCE* 5 (1964): 65.

<sup>11</sup> In Papyrus Anastasi I, Šumur is called *Dmr n Ss*, "Šumur of Sessi (Ramesses)," apparently because of its role in the Battle of Kadesh.

The phenomenon of calling the capital of a state as *the city* of that state is known from other contemporary sources. Thus, the city of Alalakh was sometimes called the City of Mukish (URU *Mu-ki-iš*), and Kummanni was also known as the City of Kizzuwatna (URU *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na*).<sup>12</sup> From Neo-Babylonian records, we also know that Jerusalem was called the City of Judah (URU *Iāhūda*),<sup>13</sup> just as it was in the Bible (*‘ir Yehūdāh*) (see 2 Chron. 25:28).

The history of the City of Amurru, indeed, does not end in the Late Bronze Age. The Assyrian emperor Ashur-nasir-apli II (883–859), in recording the receipt of tribute from the kings on the seacoast of the Lebanon, lists the following city-states in the land of Amurru: Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Maḥallatu, *Ma-i-za*,<sup>14</sup> *Ka-i-za*, Amurru, and the city of Arwad.<sup>15</sup>

This list, in geographical order from south to north, provides us with a further indication as to the location of the City of Amurru. It was located north of Maḥallatu (Waḥlia in the EA texts), which is to be identified with al-Mina at Tripoli<sup>16</sup> and between an unidentified town called *Ka-i-za* and the island of Arwad (modern Ruad). This localizes it in the region of the Nahr el-Kebir, the very area where we assume that the city of Ṣumur was located.

A more precise indication as to the location of Ṣumur is provided by an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076). He records that the distance from Arwad to Ṣumur was 3 “double-miles.”<sup>17</sup> In any event, a city called Amurru still existed on the coast of the Lebanon, just south of Arwad, in the ninth century B.C. Its location also fits all the known facts about the location of Ṣumur.

Two tells in this region, both near the Nahr el-Kebir, discussed by R. J. Braidwood some time ago<sup>18</sup>, lend themselves to possible identification with the site of Ṣumur/City of Amurru. One is Tell Kazel, on the Nahr el-Abrash, and the other is Tell Simiriyan, about 6 km to the north of Tell Kazel.<sup>19</sup> Both sites are now located some 4 km from the sea. Tell Simiriyan had an artificial harbor at the site of Tell Hammam on the coast, and may have been the site of Ṣumur in the Iron Age. Tell Kazel is a large Bronze Age site and is the more likely candidate for the identification with Amarna Age Ṣumur—also known as the City of Amurru.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See M. C. Astour, “Tell Mardikh and Ebla,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 3 (1971): 13, n. 30.

<sup>13</sup> See B. Mazar, “Jerusalem in the Biblical Period,” in *Cities and Districts in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 15 (Hebrew).

<sup>14</sup> This name, to be read *Wa<sub>6</sub>-i-za*, is most likely a dialectal form of Ullaza, known from the Amarna letters and Egyptian texts (*ʿIw<sub>3</sub>ʿi*). Ullaza was apparently located near the mouth of the Nahr el-Barid, some 20 km north of modern Tripoli.

<sup>15</sup> A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 143. See also B. Oded, “Assyria and the Cities of Phoenicia during the Assyrian Empire,” *Beer-Sheva I* (1973): 139, n. 17 (Hebrew).

<sup>16</sup> H. Salamé-Sarkis, “Waḥlia-Maḥallatu-Tripoli?,” *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 49 (1975–76):

551–63.

<sup>17</sup> J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. (Princeton, 1969), p. 275.

<sup>18</sup> R. J. Braidwood, “Report on Two Sondages on the Coast of Syria, South of Tartous,” *Syria* 21 (1940): 183–221.

<sup>19</sup> The name of this tell may be a survival of the Bronze Age name but does not prove that it is the site of Bronze Age Ṣumur. The name Ṣumur was, of course, perpetuated into the Roman era as *Simyra*; see Ptolemy, *Geographia* 5.15.4.

<sup>20</sup> The identification of Amarna Age Ṣumur with Tell Kazel was evidently adopted by A. F. Rainey, “A Front Line Report from Amurru,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 3 (1971): 149 (map).

## BOOK REVIEWS\*

---

*Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker Presented on the Occasion of His 78th Birthday December 10, 1983.* Edited by LEONARD H. LESKO. Hanover, New Hampshire and London: University Press of New England, 1986. Pp. xvii + 171. \$35.

In both form and substance, this volume is a fitting tribute to one of Egyptology's leading scholars. This series of original studies in several areas is full of new ideas, generally very well written, and there has been careful editorial work as well.

B. V. Bothmer and H. De Meulenaere, "The Brooklyn Statuette of Hor, Son of Pawen" (pp. 1-15), study one of only two private sculptures which can be definitely dated to the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, "probably the best miniature sculpture made for a private person in the last millennium B.C." An excursus on the "egg-head"—a hairless head without modeling of the cranial structure and with a degree of elongation to the back—shows that this type of head is typical of infants and is one more expression of the desire for a youthful appearance in the afterlife.

J. J. Clère, "Une Statuette funéraire (chabti) à formule anormale" (pp. 17-21), examines an early Eighteenth Dynasty text in which a woman dedicates a shabti for a male relative "Geneh, servant of Ahmes." This type of dedication is found on other shabtis of the period and recalls similar dedications on servant statues of the Old Kingdom, another point showing that the two types of objects belong to the same tradition.

E. Cruz-Urbe, "On the Meaning of *Urk*. I, 122, 6-8" (pp. 23-25), shows that commonplace statements in funerary texts are not just

meaningless formulas. The assertion of Har-khuf and others that he "brought the boatless to land" is founded on the divine precedent of Isis providing a ferry for Horus in his time of need. It reflects the belief that the deceased needs similar help in reaching the "beautiful West" and his final judgment.

The problem of "The Shetayet of Rosetau" is taken up by I. E. S. Edwards (pp. 27-36). Burials of extrasepulchral shabtis have been discovered in the Serapeum and at Abydos, both of which were considered burial places of Osiris. Similar caches have been found in the Giza area near the ancient village of Rose-tau/Busiris, suggesting that a tomb of Osiris existed there as well. Drawing mainly on the cult of Sokar which appropriated much of the Osiris ritual by the New Kingdom, Edwards argues that the Shetayet, the cult shrine of Sokar, was situated in the Memphite necropolis. Texts mention two Shetayet edifices, and remains found near the shabti-caches at Rosetau/Busiris could be of these buildings. The Shetayet of Rosetau was thus a Lower Egyptian counterpart to the tomb of Osiris at Abydos.

H. Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt" (pp. 37-47), examines the notation on the Recto of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and related evidence. Neither Avaris nor Sharuhenn were actually taken but surrendered after negotiated settlements; Ahmosis did not inherit an empire in Palestine nor did he undertake a second campaign into Syria as some suggest. Part of the notation in question is a reference to volcanic phenomena, perhaps resulting from the eruption on Santorini at about this time.

M. Heerma van Voss, "Sargtext 106 im Totenbuch" (pp. 49-52), edits a rare example of this spell in an early Eighteenth-Dynasty papyrus. The text is a conversation between

\* Permission to reprint a book review in this section may be obtained only from the author.



the deceased and Osiris concerning the desire for resurrection and Osiris's assurance that this hope will be realized.

G. R. Hughes offers a translation and extensive commentary on P. Berlin 8345 in "An Astrologer's Handbook in Demotic Egyptian" (pp. 53-69). The four columns of this papyrus (out of an original eighteen or nineteen) list predictions for people born under one of the seven planets in each of the twelve horoscopic houses. The preserved text runs from Venus in the fifth house to Mercury in the seventh. An addendum briefly describes P. Vindob. D.6614, another Demotic astrological text.

A welcome change from studies on Ptolemaic society based on Greek manuscripts is that of J. H. Johnson, "The Role of the Egyptian Priesthood in Ptolemaic Egypt" (pp. 70-84), who considers the Demotic evidence concerning the economic status of priests at that time. Their high social status is already shown by their very numerous statues and funerary stelae as well as their predominance in marriage contracts. Furthermore, priests and others related to temples were more likely to buy and sell property. The control of priestly offices, income from endowments, and services to private funerary chapels provided the priestly class with "immense amounts of disposable property," placing them among the wealthier citizens.

B. Lesko, "True Art in Ancient Egypt" (pp. 85-97), shows that we need not always look upon Egyptian art as a religious or political phenomenon. This is especially true in poetry. By the New Kingdom, two traditions of love poetry can be defined: popular women's songs, often ribald, in which the woman longs for her lover, and more spiritual and refined courtly love poems sung by the male. This dual tradition has analogies in the poetry of Andalusia and Europe of the Middle Ages. Courtly love poetry, the major emphasis in this study, flourished in Egypt in the literate, secular society of the Ramesside period. It is art for art's sake, growing out of a very human context expressing human feelings and emotions.

Secular tales which reflect political realities are the theme of L. H. Lesko's study "Three Late Egyptian Stories Reconsidered" (pp. 98-

103). In the "Contendings of Horus and Seth," "Tale of Two Brothers," and "Blinding of Truth by Falsehood," several themes are dominant: the royal succession, a negative attitude toward prominent women, and irreligiosity toward the gods. The setting is the changeover to the new Nineteenth Dynasty when the succession needed to be stabilized; there was a negative attitude toward the strong-willed queens of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and Ramses II placed his own cult on a par with those of the gods. These secular tales thus take on an aura of propaganda, one more way to establish the ruling family on the throne through the medium of popular stories.

E. Lüddeckens, "Der koptische Brief Reykjavik Nr. 11" (pp. 105-10), translates and comments on a letter now in the National Museum of Iceland. The addressee, Apa Taurine, may be the same person known from documents of the Sixth to Seventh centuries. The contents are quite ordinary. Maria, the writer, requests Apa Taurine's patience for one Phoibamun who has failed to keep an appointment as he was helping her with the flax harvest. The rest is unclear, partly due to a break of unknown length in the text.

In "La Légende de la tresse d'Hathor" (pp. 111-17), G. Posener comments on an obscure legend about damage done to Hathor's coiffure alluded to in P. Ramessum XI. This notes the damage done to the eye of Horus, the testicles of Seth, the shoulder of Thoth, and the braid of Hathor. From this, we can infer that what happened to Hathor was as well known as what happened to the other deities and that this hurt was inflicted by some mythological figure. Other allusions to this legend are found in Tale of Two Brothers and P. Westcar, which indicate that Hathor's adversary in this legend must be the sea.

D. B. Redford, "The Name Manetho" (pp. 118-21), examines transcriptions of Egyptian names into Greek and the sometimes complex phonetic shifts involved, offering a convincing argument that "Manetho" derives from *Mry-ntr*-ꜥ, "Beloved of the Great God," in a Lower Egyptian dialect.

"The Curious Case of Hadad the Edomite" (pp. 122-35) by A. R. Schulman raises the question of why the story of this prince re-

counted in 1 Kings 11 is cut off without a proper ending, while the end of the story is found in the Septuagint and Josephus. Hadad did return to Edom and, with the approval of King Siamun of Egypt and the help of Rezon of Damascus, caused much trouble to Solomon's Israel. The reason why these events are not found in the Bible lies within the framework of political relations between Solomon and Siamun and the intent of diplomatic marriages of the age. Siamun was frustrated in his attempt to invade Israel and surrendered Gaza, taken in this abortive invasion, as a face-saving device; the city became his daughter's dowry when she married Solomon. In the language of diplomatic marriage, the state which provided the bride acknowledged the other as stronger. It is this view of Solomon's relationship with Siamun that the Old Testament preserves. The story of Hadad's return and subsequent trouble-making was included in the original Hebrew text but was omitted by later editors to remove evidence that the Siamun-Solomon connection was not always in Solomon's favor.

A. Spalinger offers a new translation with notes of the Abu Simbel stelae of Ramses II and a Twentieth Dynasty work in "Two Ramesside Rhetorical Poems" (pp. 136-64), giving detailed analyses of these works following Foster's theory of "thought couplets." On one of the stelae, the poetic portion is followed by a speech of the king. Spalinger offers the plausible theory that the Abu Simbel stelae were erected soon after the northern wars of Ramses II, that the king visited this temple to be greeted by a hymn of praise after which he spoke to the assembled crowd. The stelae commemorate this memorable event. For comparison, a similar analysis is offered of P. Turin 1940-41, a poem on Thutmose III, either an original Twentieth-Dynasty composition or an Eighteenth-Dynasty one completely reworked in Ramesside times.

R. A. Wells in his "Some Astronomical Reflections on Parker's Contributions to Egyptian Chronology" (pp. 156-71) describes Parker's discoveries, including his determination of the beginning of the lunar month, the meaning of several month-names, and his interpretation of the lunar cycle table in P.

Carlsberg 9. The author reviews the current debate on Middle Kingdom chronology in which Krauss redates the sothic sighting under Sesostri III to 1836 B.C. as opposed to Parker's date of ca. 1872 B.C. He suggests that one method to determine more precise dates is "computing foundation lines of certain temples whose principal axes may have been aligned toward specific rising or setting stars," a study currently under way.

WILLIAM A. WARD

Brown University

---

*Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History.* By DONALD B. REDFORD. Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Publication 4. Mississauga, Canada: Benben Publications, 1986.

This work is a meticulously documented reconstruction of the highly complex process which led ultimately to such major documents as the Turin Canon and Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*. Redford has approached what could have been a somewhat dull subject with such liveliness of narration that this book is a pleasure to read. It is rare to find an intensely scholarly work which at the same time is hard to put down. One feels the urgency of getting on to the next chapter.

Chief among the precursors of the later king-lists were the annals (*gnwt*) and the records of the ancestral offering cult. The annals, begun in the archaic period, were originally a record of Nile heights linked to year designations but soon developed into a record of important political or cultic events of each year. Their early form can be seen in the small Protodynastic "labels" and the Palermo stone. While no compilation of the annals is known after the Fifth Dynasty, numerous references to such records throughout Pharaonic history assure they did exist, probably with the same form and content.

The cult of the royal ancestors honored kings of the past, and there is substantial evidence that lists of kings were kept so they

could be recorded in offering documents or portrayed monumentally as in the Ancestral Shrine at Karnak. The keepers of such lists were chiefly the priests of Ptah at Memphis, who exerted some control over which rulers should be included. The records of the cult of royal ancestors, a constant in the Egyptian religious experience, were thus a significant source for compilers of king-lists.

The Egyptian "day-book" (*hrwyt*) or journal which appears first in the Twelfth Dynasty was a collection of dated entries recording a variety of events. Redford emphasizes that such day-books are more common than realized and include such well-known documents as the Semneh Dispatches, ship's logs, and the Turin Strike Papyrus. As a genre, such journals provided a great deal of dated information.

The king-list tradition had its origins in the annals and the lists kept for the cult of royal ancestors, both clearly in evidence in the Old Kingdom. The first true king-list was developed in the Middle Kingdom in an atmosphere of reverence for the past at all levels of society. Folklore of the period deals with the problems of past kings; monarchs recorded their predecessors in office, and the royal family bolstered its claims to the kingship by tying its own traditions to those of the Old Kingdom and Eleventh Dynasty. With some justification, Redford postulates a king-list created at Itj-Towy which began with the "prehistoric" dynasties and grouped historic rulers into families. The annals, the offering tradition, the new day-books, and some folklore were the sources for this list.

With the advent of the Empire came, among other things, a reawakened interest in the past and an intense revival of the cult of the royal ancestors. Redford copiously illustrates, almost reign by reign, what the kings of the period did in this respect. Hatshepsut built a family temple at Deir el-Bahri, "the first great ancestral memorial in the New Kingdom." Thutmosis III's chamber of ancestors at Karnak "is really a cult room, in which the collective offering to the ancestors was carried on." Amenophis III revived the prominence of the *sed*-festival which is little evidenced after the Twelfth Dynasty. The early Ramessides emphasized the *sed*-festival and the offering cult in such important texts as the offering rituals

at Abydos. Characteristic of this period is the popularity of the motif of offering to the royal ancestors in private tombs.

Out of this active interest in the royal families who had held the kingship since the time of the gods came the Turin Canon, an up-to-date edition of the Middle Kingdom list created at Itj-Towy. Added to the latter is the immediate family tree of Ramesses II, the list of Theban rulers maintained in the Amun temple and, from some other Theban source, the kings who would make up Manetho's Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties. The Turin Canon thus consisted of several Theban sources grafted on to the older Itj-Towy list. The inclusion of the Hyksos kings, omitted in all the Theban cultic lists, was the responsibility of the Ramessides who kept this tradition alive in such monuments as the 400-year stela.

While every chapter in this book is full of new insights and valuable assessments of the material, the essays on Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* are the best (chaps. 6-9). Since we do not have the original work, the difficulties in determining what it actually contained and how it came into being are enormous. Redford argues (1) that the sources for the Epitome consisted broadly of records or annalistic writings, etiologies, and folk tales, to which later editors added classical and biblical material, and (2) that Manetho worked primarily with Demotic sources in a temple library, not with the actual monuments still standing in his day.

A distinct contribution to the study of Manetho is marked by Redford's discussion of what kind of documents would be available in a temple library of the third century B.C. The subject catalogue of such a temple library is drawn up (pp. 215-23) on the basis of allusions in the literature and surviving papyri. While the major temples of Egypt with all their stelae, statues and reliefs, royal tombs, funerary temples, and the like, were still standing in his day, it is evident that Manetho preferred to remain in the library. What he found there was, to him, authoritative enough so that it was unnecessary to consult actual monuments. This accounts for much of the folklore in his work, often described as "Pseudo-Manetho," that is, additions by later editors. In reality, Manetho himself drew on Demotic tales so that the so-called Pseudo-Manethonian pas-



sages can be traced to late documents available to him in temple libraries.

While the format of Manetho's work was that of a king-list fleshed out by narrative sections, his sources were varied. From the "prehistoric" dynasties of gods and demi-gods to the end of the Middle Kingdom, he relied on the established Itj-Towy/Theban king-list tradition. His source for the Hyksos Dynasty was a Demotic document of the fifth century B.C., which accounts for much of the confusion. For example, the Hyksos "invasion" is confused with that of the Assyrians, the "expulsion" with the victory of Thutmose III at Megiddo. Manetho's Eighteenth Dynasty in narrative form is strongly influenced by etiological folktales and late interpretations of still-standing monuments. Again, the influence of Demotic tales can be seen. For the post-Eighteenth Dynasty period, Manetho follows the Memphite king-list tradition. Throughout, Redford carefully explains each difficulty, almost king by king, by reference to existing documents or documents he postulates on very good evidence.

There is no doubt that in a work as wide in scope as this that there will be disagreement here and there. But Redford's meticulous documentation will be difficult to refute. It is a convincing and thoroughly readable narrative, and one gets the clear impression that it all happened just this way.

WILLIAM A. WARD

*Brown University*

---

*Ancient Egypt: The Land and Its Legacy.* By T. G. H. JAMES. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988. Pp. 223. \$29.95.

Over the years there have been many books on ancient Egypt produced for the lay reader. Very few have reached the ideal of such works: first-rate illustrations, an authoritative text, and, above all, the experience and judgment of a highly competent scholar. T. G. H. James has written one of those rare books which does reach this ideal and adds another important element: it is readable and entertaining.

James moves chapter by chapter from Alexandria south to Abu Simbel, pausing at signi-

ficant sites along the way to investigate their remains and monuments and what these have to say about Egyptian history and culture. This series of lucid essays describes the Delta, Memphis, the Fayyum, Middle Egypt, Abydos, Thebes, Elephantine, and Nubia. We are both scholars and tourists on the journey, seeing Egypt as it once was and as it is viewed by the modern traveler. Interwoven into the narrative is the story of modern archaeological work from Belzoni's labors on behalf of Henry Salt to the present restoration of Karnak by Egyptian and French scholars. Belzoni, by the way, comes off a bit better in James's account than elsewhere.

Another thread which runs through the book is the plundering of ancient monuments, both in antiquity and modern times. We read of kings dismantling buildings of their ancestors at Bubastis and Karnak, of the depredations of peasants at Naukratis and Amarna. Royal plundering, in particular, has caused problems in the reconstruction of ancient history. James makes sure that the lay reader, who often does not appreciate this, understands the difficulties faced by modern scholarly investigation.

The text is full of those little bits of information which offer delightful footnotes to the modern discovery of Egypt, for example, Amelia Edwards's clean-up job at Abu Simbel. In the 1830s, Robert Hay had made a plaster mold of the face of the northern colossus. Fifty years later, pieces of plaster still clung to the stone and Miss Edwards set her ship's crew to work to remove this residue. A charming drawing (no. 142) shows her sketching the enterprise. This is but one of many illustrations which add interest: the Rev. Greville Chester, complete with top hat, astride a donkey at Luxor (no. 88); the city mound of Elephantine (no. 134); the Philae Isis temple rebuilt on a nearby island (no. 138); the camel and horse park at the pyramids before the first tourists arrive for the day's sight-seeing (no. 33). There is a clever mix of the ancient and modern which strongly supports the text.

The text is, of course, dependable and written with that rare combination of a lifetime of experience and observation and the ability to communicate clearly. This is no dry,



academic account, but a lively narrative which sparkles with well-turned phrases and little gems of humor. There is the head of Amenemes III found at Bubastis: "But did it travel straight to Bubastis, or by way of Piramesse, having first been hi-jacked by Ramesses II" (p. 32). Or the Abydene stela of Iykhernofret: "The bulk of the stela is crammed with kneeling figures of men and women . . . , a crowd of lesser relatives jumping on the bandwagon of Osirian proximity" (p. 108).

There are, to be sure, many points in Egyptian history over which scholars argue, for example, the Hyksos age, the Amarna interlude, and the Third Intermediate period. James handles these problems with ease so that the reader is not buried under theories and counter-theories but is given a clear outline of what probably happened. His treatment of the Amarna period, when this complicated age comes into the narrative, is particularly good.

Throughout, James is careful to keep his general readers in mind, though specialists in the field will also find much here of interest. This is an excellent survey of Egyptian history and culture and the work of modern scholars to recover Egypt's past. Most of all, it is very well written and a delight to read. This is a fine book in all respects, the best of its genre to appear in many years.

WILLIAM A. WARD

Brown University

*Grabung im Asasif: 1963-1970. Vol. 3. Die Papyrusfunde (nach Vorarbeiten von Dino Bidoli).* By GÜNTER BURKARD. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 22. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1986. Pp. 88 + 86 pls. DM 148.

This is an exemplary publication in every way; it is a pleasure to use and to recommend it. In a brief preface, Burkard acknowledges the initial labors of the late D. Bidoli, who

published a preliminary report on this material in *MDAIK* 26 (1970): 4-7 and apparently continued to work on it until shortly before his death in 1973, although that later work could not be found. The very fragmentary papyri (and one strip of mummy-bandage) are inscribed in hieratic, with the exception of fragments of two hieroglyphic MSS and a few other miscellaneous hieroglyphic fragments, and comprise mainly "Book of the Dead" MSS, along with exemplars of several other liturgical and ritual texts. They were found in the tombs of Intef, Mutirdis, and Basa and date from Dynasty 30 through the Roman period.

A thorough discussion of the nature, dating, and archaeological contexts of the papyri, and of the attested personal names and their genealogies, is followed by the catalogue of the individual texts. This is extremely detailed, including provenience, genealogical information, dating by diagnostic hieratic forms, and the contents themselves. Transcription into hieroglyphs is reserved for texts with contain other than BD material and is in a punctiliously neat hand with meticulous annotations; while the BD documents are not transcribed (though BD material occurring alongside other compositions is), nearly every scrap is identified. Bibliographical coverage is thorough. Personal names are cross-referenced to Ranke, *PN*; names not included by Ranke are <sup>2</sup>*Irt.w.-rd* (pp. 22 f.), *T3-ḏdw* (p. 71), and *Hr-r-mswt-ḥny*(?) (p. 72). The entries for individual MSS are followed by a table enumerating all the texts attested in the corpus. The photographic plates are a model of clarity and show graphically the parade of tiny fragments which makes up much of the material.

Burkard, building on Bidoli's foundation, has provided a model publication which will be especially valuable for scholars interested in late mortuary, liturgical, and ritual texts, as well as prosopography and genealogy, and has set a standard which should be followed in any presentation of this type of material.

EDMUND S. MELTZER

The Claremont Graduate School

*The Birds of Ancient Egypt.* By PATRICK F. HOULIHAN with STEVEN M. GOODMAN. The Natural History of Egypt, vol. 1. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986. Pp. xxx + 191 + 199 figs. + 2 pls. \$49.95 [distributed in North America by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, NJ 07716].

This sumptuously produced, copiously illustrated, and compendious work aims "to provide a systematic survey of all the bird life depicted by the ancient Egyptians in art and hieroglyphic writing, to sketch the birds' role in secular and religious spheres, and to attempt to compare their present-day distribution range with that in the time of the Pharaohs" (p. xii). An extensive bibliography is followed by the "Catalogue of the Birds Identified," which forms the bulk of the book; Appendix I, a list of the birds attested by mummies or remains in tombs; Appendix II, "A Preliminary Checklist to the Birds of Egypt (Excluding the Sinai)" from modern ornithological sources and sightings; notes; a chronological table; and an index. Both common and scientific names are used throughout.

The amount of detailed information digested in the well-written discussions is most impressive, reflecting an immense amount of meticulous scrutiny of a vast corpus. The authors are sensitive to the problems of the identification of idealized or harmonized depictions (note, for example, the comments on the Horus-falcon, p. 48); cf. the remarks of K. Weeks, "Art, Word, and the Egyptian World View," in idem, ed., *Egyptology and the Social Sciences* (Cairo, 1979), pp. 59–81, which is not cited. They also show a fine eye for anatomical detail. The illustrations run the gamut of every type of representation and artistic medium, as well as physical remains of birds. Only one plate is in color (the frontispiece, an owl *m*); one wishes that many others were, but that would certainly have made the price prohibitive.

As Houlihan writes in the preface (p. xii), "the work under review omits any consideration of Egyptian (or Coptic) lexicography, for which we must await D. Meeks' forthcoming *Les Oiseaux de l'Egypte ancienne: Etude d'un champ lexical*" (although the bibliography covers most of the relevant scholarly literature,

and Arabic names are provided in the "Preliminary Checklist"). Though one can readily understand the desire to avoid redundancy, this failure to integrate any lexicographical discussion or, at least, to provide a glossary or some form of cross-referencing with currently available dictionaries seriously detracts from the usefulness of the book and has a truncating effect. Especially in view of the wealth of material on birds' names in Mesopotamia (see A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im Alten Mesopotamien* [Helsinki, 1973], and most recently J. A. Black and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, "A Contribution to the Study of Akkadian Bird Names," *ZA* 77 [1987]: 117–26), Meeks's study will fill an important gap not only for Egyptologists but for scholars in cognate disciplines interested in comparative studies. Meanwhile, Houlihan and Goodman are to be congratulated on a painstaking and comprehensive work which is aesthetically pleasing and sure to be a widely consulted reference on the subject. We look forward to the projected volume on fishes and subsequent entries in the series, and we hope that they uphold the high standard of the first volume while giving a more balanced indication of the importance of the lexicographical material.

EDMUND S. MELTZER

TOVA MELTZER

*The Claremont Graduate School*

---

*Egyptian Scarabs and Seals from Acco: From the Collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.* By RAPHAEL GIVEON and TRUDE KERTESZ. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1986. Pp. 48 + 20 pls. 19 Swiss francs.

This small book will be the last to come out under the name of Raphael Giveon, who passed away in 1985, before the work was completed. Trude Kertesz, Giveon's former student in Egyptology, who had assisted him in his research work for this volume (according to information kindly provided by Raphael Ventura of Tel Aviv University), completed the work and saw it to publication.

The 176 scarabs published in this slim volume are said to have come from Acco (with the exception of no. 104, the origin of which is evidently uncertain), although none was discovered in controlled archaeological excavations. Some were picked up on the surface of the tell by local citizens; others were found in excavations carried on for construction work or by tomb robbers. All ended up in three private collections. The largest of these collections, consisting of 120 pieces, eventually found its way to the Israel Museum.

Acco (Akko, Accho, Acre) was one of those Palestinian cities which enjoyed, due to its important geographical location on the Haifa Bay, a close connection with Egypt. The city is mentioned in Egyptian records from the nineteenth century B.C. on, throughout the centuries when ancient Egypt produced the bulk of known scarabs. It is therefore not surprising that Acco's ancient ruins and tombs provide many scarabs. The city shared this privilege with other important ancient sites in coastal Palestine that had close relations with Egypt at least since the time of the Middle Kingdom through the Hyksos period, the New Kingdom, and the later dynasties. In sites, such as Tell Jemmah, Tell el-Far'a (south), and Tell el-<sup>c</sup>Ajjul, as well as in cities which lay farther inland but on important trade routes, such as Shechem, Lachish, and Jericho, hundreds of scarabs have come to light during excavations. Therefore, it is not strange to learn that Acco also has provided many scarabs.

Although the value of the Acco scarabs published in the book reviewed here is diminished by the fact that they were not discovered in controlled excavations, they show a picture that is very similar to that provided by archaeologists in the other sites already mentioned. About 50 percent of the Acco scarabs by actual count have close parallels with scarabs found in Palestine. Thirty of the scarabs testify to a strong influence of the Hyksos in that area, while more than 70 New Kingdom scarabs, many depicting hunting scenes or religious themes, typical for this period, illustrate the great influence which Egypt exerted on its Palestinian vassals at the time of

powerful New Kingdom monarchs, such as Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, and Ramesses II, whose names appear on several scarabs. On the other hand, the influence of Cyprus, Assyria, and Babylonia are seen in motifs depicted on some of the later scarabs. They indicate to what extent trends from those regions made themselves felt in Palestine.

The reader will see from this brief review that this study of the Acco scarabs, in spite of the limitations already mentioned, makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of ancient Acco as an important cultural, commercial, and administrative center; and Acco probably always housed traders and political representatives of foreign countries or cities within its walls, among whom Egyptians played a great role. The scarabs are some of the artifacts possessed by these people and are evidence of their influence on the life of the city of Acco and the surrounding area.

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

*Pleasant Hill, California*

---

*The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian.* By ERIC DORET. Cahiers d'Orientalisme, vol. 12. Geneva: Patrick Cramer Editeur, 1986. Pp. 239.

E. Doret's monograph is a revised Chicago dissertation, and his work has all the philological qualities of this tradition. His material, represented by the autobiographical texts of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period, is very clearly analyzed: his 318 examples, distributed over nine chapters, all of them accompanied by a translation, generally present whole portions of text and not just "system-sentences" the verification of whose semantic and grammatical interpretation could easily be disputed. The reader who wants to work through the book is helped by a monumental apparatus of 2,203 footnotes (not to count those annexed to the tables summarizing the results), which are perhaps too numerous and at times quite useless (as in the case of the references in the tables and in the last chapter,

all of which are circular and refer back to a previous treatment) but which always contain a mine of background information on *Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, philological problems, and historical data. Doret basically chooses not to make any critical comments or remarks on secondary literature; on the other hand, since his book does not present a new "theory" of Egyptian, his procedure proves very useful as a bibliographical aid, if the reader wants to trace back the history of the Egyptological treatment of specific grammatical phenomena, especially of lexical or philological questions (see some paradigmatic examples on the nature of the form following the particle *jr* [see pp. 22–23] and the opposition between prospective  $s\dot{d}m(.w)=f$  and subjunctive  $s\dot{d}m=f$ , p. 24 on the concept and the relevance of verbal aspect in Egyptian, and pp. 71 ff. on Nubian topographical and lexical data from Weni's and Herkhuf's expeditions, etc.).

The author's lack of an independent theory of the Egyptian language is as such by no means a drawback: on the contrary, the history of scholarship shows that most impressive progress can be reached in the course of the epigonal work of scholars agreeing on the basic principles of a certain paradigm. This is precisely what Egyptological linguistics seemed to be about to achieve in the 1970s with its widespread adoption of the Polotskyan paradigm, whereas this general agreement seems compromised now by the development of autonomous "philosophies" of Egyptian grammar; in modern philological work the basic agreement on the function or the translation of a specific Egyptian form is often concealed by different terminology or a different theoretical approach. Doret's book is supported by a rather scanty formal apparatus (pp. 13 ff.), so that the reader can concentrate on documentary problems very early on. The author is helped by the quite monothematic nature of his corpus, where repetitions are frequent, and by the limitation of his inquiry to the narrative dimension of older Egyptian; had he had to cope with the discourse as well, he would have probably been obliged to develop a more varied attitude towards matters of semantic or pragmatic character.

Doret's general framework is the standard concept that oppositions of syntactic behavior reflect more or less closely differences of morphological character, morphological distinctions in strong verbs being thought to correspond to those documented by the writing of weak verbs and in which one assumes a verifiable dichotomy between the grammar of Middle Egyptian "colloquial" vs. formal or literary texts. The attitude in dealing with these questions has important consequences on our general assessment of Egyptian grammar, particularly in the case of problems such as the treatment of the "indicative"  $s\dot{d}m=f$  (pp. 24 ff.) and of indicative forms in general. To postulate the existence of this form represents a challenge for Egyptological linguistics because if it exists, we must postulate the productivity of non-imperative and non-prospective verbal phrases in (at least the older stages of) Egyptian; if we deny this possibility, then we have to explain the alleged indicative  $s\dot{d}m=f$  forms as nominal or adverbial transpositions within the sentence in which they appear. Doret does indeed work with the notion of verbal predication (pp. 139–41), which allows him to consider Old Kingdom indicative  $s\dot{d}m=f$  and first person stative and First Intermediate period narrative/continuative  $s\dot{d}m.n=f$  of transitive verbs and stative of the verbs of motion as "absolute" verbal forms and not as transpositions, and I think he is well advised in doing so. Independent verbal predications probably have to be at least historically incorporated into standard theory, since Old Kingdom Egyptian and Late Egyptian display them, and in my opinion it would be tremendously burdensome for the theory itself to try to find ad hoc solutions just to preserve the model. Thus, Doret is probably correct in refraining from explaining *all* Egyptian verbal formations from the very beginning of their history with recourse to the assumption of morphological and syntactic transformations.

Other major questions are the extraposition within the same sentence of circumstantial phrases introduced by particles such as *jr* or *(j)hr* from the rhematic to the thematic position (pp. 22 ff., 64, 155, etc.) In these cases, I



tend to disagree with Doret's position that the verbal form following the particle *jr* and (*j*)*hr* "when" (pp. 22 ff.) is the circumstantial transposition, exactly like the structure following *sk* "while." The problem is posed by the fact that the latter introduces a background circumstantial construction in the adverbial position, i.e., following as a more or less "emphasized" predicate a nominal form acting as a so-called logical subject, whereas *jr* and (*j*)*hr* precede the main predication, thus unexpectedly occupying the thematic position within the sentence. This leads the author to the adoption of Vernus's suggestion of the existence of a *second schème* to explain the extraposition of adverbials within an Egyptian sentence. I would explain this construction within a more functional perspective: clauses with *jr* or (*j*)*hr* represent the signal of the topicalization of a construction which, because of its defining a temporal setting, in Egyptian is normally bound to background functions. Through its thematization, the temporal setting acquires the nature of a communicative "figure" within the discourse, and it defines the conditions under which the following predications hold true. Thus, it is only partially correct to homologize these particles with *jw* or *h<sup>c</sup>.n*, underlining the fact that all of them "cover" a circumstantial form, allowing it to avoid being initial (see, for example, p. 64 and n. 672). It is not so much a question of initiality, but of communicative relevance; forms following *jw* or *h<sup>c</sup>.n* belong to, or are by themselves, the "rheme," the comment of the sentence, whereas those introduced by *jr* or (*j*)*hr* are part of its topic, of its communicative point of departure. It is true that all of them are morphologically circumstantial, but the former particles are predicative, being immediate constituents of a well-formed grammatical sentence, whereas the latter can only introduce a dependent extraposed clause outside the main predication, represented by the syntactically—even if not pragmatically—independent sentence following it.

The author's treatment of syntactic problems is slightly oversimplified in dealing with segmentation of sentences, especially of those

displaying *sdm.n=f* (pp. 133 ff., 152, 169–70, etc.), or subjunctive phrases (pp. 49 ff., etc.), and verbs of incomplete predication (pp. 49–50, 53–54, 81–82) that can prove very useful in identifying *sdm.n=f* balanced sentences as opposed to the unmarked construction. For example, since the verb *zbj*, "to reach," requires the direct expression of the goal, in example 266, p. 152, we have the former pattern, all verbal clauses expressing foreground actions, aniconic "figures" within the flow of discourse. The *sdm.n=f* form *zbj.n=j*, being nominal per se, is the most appropriate choice for a "correlative topic." It is neither a circumstantial form, which would have been expressed by a stative, nor a "circumstantial emphatic" form (p. 169: "it was the dignity of a Revered One that I had reached"), since the adverbial phrase *r jmšhw* is not a *freie Ergänzung* but a necessary constituent of the predication. It is simply a nominal *sdm.n=f* in a nominal, "figurative" function. A similar question is raised by other problematic assessments of verbs of incomplete predication. Doret takes the *sdm.n=f* form introducing indirect quotations to be a nominal form emphasizing the indirect quotation itself (pp. 81–82). But *dd* "say" is precisely a verb of incomplete predication, requiring an object as mandatory constituent of the phrase in which it appears; *dd.n=k* by itself cannot emphasize anything, and surely not a nominal phrase, for whose emphasis Egyptian adopts quite different procedures (focalization with *jn*, thematization with *pw*, etc.).

As a last point, I would like to praise the author's important contribution to the understanding of Egyptian negative forms: the distinction between indicative *nj* and circumstantial *njj* (pp. 36 ff., 92) is very clearly illustrated. First of all, it stresses the autonomy of pragmatic functions vis-à-vis syntactic categories: *njj* negates a syntactic circumstantiality, where *nj-*js** negates a pragmatic focus. Secondly, the presence of *njj* seems to me to be due to a phenomenon of grammaticalization of a graphic variety of the basic negative particle. I recently tried to trace for the development of the particle *nn* in a similar way. Interestingly enough, these grammati-

calizations are connected with the emergence of new, different oppositions within the Egyptian verbal system, a fact that strengthens the case for assuming structural modifications of some entity in the process of affirmation of the classical system.

Only worthwhile books provoke thoughts, discussions, and even criticisms. Doret's monograph is most definitely a worthwhile book, and our Swiss colleague deserves our warmest congratulations.

ANTONIO LOPRIENO

University of Perugia/University of California,  
Los Angeles

*Nubische Studien: Tagungsakten der 5. internationalen Konferenz der International Society for Nubian Studies, Heidelberg, 22.-25. September 1982.* Edited by MARTIN KRAUSE. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1986. Pp. xlii + 421. DM 235.

The fifty-seven papers presented in this volume offer a wide variety of views on emerging and consolidating fields of study. They are organized in two parts, the first including the pre-Christian eras, the second, the Christian and Islamic periods. Part I is dominated by preliminary reports on (then) recent exploration, survey, and excavation in Sudan. Some of these reports, such as Charles Bonnet's presentation of the Kerma smelter and Francis Geus's discussion of tombs at el-Ghaba, contain information also available elsewhere, but many authors reported new sites or new material. Much of this new information concerns early periods, especially in areas to the south and east of the Butana, a vast area where systematic exploration is just beginning. However, the areas near the Nile are not neglected, especially the important Neolithic sites. The Kerma age is illuminated by finds at Kerma, a new cemetery at Abri, and a discussion of earlier work at Ukma, dating from the rescue. Reports on Middle Kingdom sealings from Mirgissa fortress, discoveries in Meroitic royal funerary architecture, and early Meroitic pottery from Abri also deserve mention. In addition to these

reports, there are some critical discussions that include Meroitic verbs, the interrelation of Meroitic place names on the monuments, and a reconstruction of a relation between the cities of the Butana and nearby mobile peoples. Török presents a brief report on a challenging new chronology of the X-Group royal necropoleis at Ballana and Qustul, which may have to be altered somewhat in light of the Oriental Institute's discovery that the Qustul cemetery contained complexes.<sup>1</sup>

The second, smaller part is focused on the Nubian Nile, and topics center on Old Nubian language, historical records, art, and architecture. Although some excavation is reported, such as at Old Dongola, and earlier work at Sayala (now available in a final report), most articles are studies of particular issues, documents, paintings, or buildings, and they deal with the formal aspects of Christian Nubia. As expected, the great finds at Faras provided many topics: the murals themselves, their iconography, architecture, the tombs of the bishops, and even the bishops themselves.

*Nubische Studien* offers something for almost everyone interested in ancient and medieval Nubia and Sudan, both in the presentation of new material and the critical review of important issues. Some of the most important periods, however, such as the C-Group, New Kingdom, and Napatan eras, were hardly touched in the papers presented at this conference. Concentrating on new finds from areas or eras only recently explored in depth, the brief articles in large part did not permit the examination of broad issues or the presentation of extensive documentation. Most authors left the task of integrating their finds within the context of the field to the reader. The volume makes important new evidence available to enliven and correct future discussions. It is almost unfair to have singled out for notice in this review the new evidence from remoter regions to the south, east, and west.

As one would expect, given its high price, the volume is beautifully produced, in hard

<sup>1</sup> See Keith C. Seele†, "University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition: Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Border, Preliminary Report," *JNES* 33 (1974), pp. 3-6.

cover, with fine typography, generally excellent drawings, and fine photographic reproduction, a credit to the authors, editor, and publisher alike. There is one problem I hesitate to mention because I do not wish to discourage anyone from publishing in the common languages of Western Europe to ensure wide accessibility. Detailed precision can hardly be expected, but some of the writing, particularly in English, was difficult to understand. Even one typographical error in German (Fesko for Fresko, p. 388) was confusing.

A volume of this size and complexity could hardly be free of problems, and the reader will be spared a recitation of them as well as the far more numerous discoveries. Simply said, this volume contains new information for scholars of Nubia and Sudan that might otherwise be scattered in many places or might even remain unavailable for a long time to come.

BRUCE WILLIAMS

*The University of Chicago*

*Temples and Tombs of Ancient Nubia: The International Rescue Campaign at Abu Simbel, Philae, and Other Sites.* Edited by TORGNÝ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH. Paris: UNESCO and London: Thames and Hudson, 1987. Pp. viii + 256 + 111 figs. \$29.50.

This is the official account of the archaeological activity and the rescue of monuments in Nubia during the 1960s, the largest and most complex campaign of its kind. Because it involved the removal of a large population, huge but delicate monuments, and an almost headlong rush to recover whatever archaeological remains could be found, the rescue is a complex and interesting story. Torgny Sæve-Söderbergh has digested and recast—authored as much as edited—a vast number of documents and reports to tell the story to a more general reader. Because he has been at the

very heart of the rescue from its inception, it is a story he is best qualified to tell.

*Temples and Tombs* is a scrupulous account of the Nubian campaign's major stages and events. As an official account, however, it stresses facts, figures, and diplomacy. Important persons and institutions are carefully recognized; meetings and documents are described, and the texts are often quoted. Embarrassing situations are rarely discussed and when they are, very tactfully.

After an introduction by Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, the head of UNESCO, Sæve-Söderbergh introduces Nubia, its geography, historical background, previous archaeological work, and finally the decision to build the High Dam and its consequences. The chapter is followed by a review of the campaign's inception and organization. It began with the vision and determination of a few key individuals, but UNESCO's involvement in response to formal appeals from Egypt and Sudan and the vast effort that followed were far more than conservation and exploration normally involve. Sæve-Söderbergh quietly says (p. 80): "Official documents are available in an overwhelming quantity, but they only report the acts and official motivations which do not always correspond to realities or cover the whole field." This is almost understatement, and on p. 89, it is made clear that it applied to the academic leaders of the rescue as well. After some "difficulties" involving the expanded role UNESCO played, Sæve-Söderbergh traces the establishment of a proliferation of national action committees, oversight committees, and advisory committees, with the ever-present problem of finance.

The rescue of Nubia's temples, and especially Abu Simbel, was no foregone conclusion. The world of 1960 was no stranger to destruction, and there was already plenty of opinion against "wasting" resources on merely cultural projects. The present account deals with how it was done, by sorting and judging plans, obtaining financing, and, finally, its execution. The other temples were already in blocks—or mostly blocks—but Egyptologists were appalled at the possible destruction in-

volved in cutting the temple into movable pieces. Having weighed possible against certain destruction, this was the method finally chosen. In retrospect, it is a tribute to the vision of the age that these temples were rescued, for it is now very possible that the decay of Egypt's own temples due to the high water table caused by the High Dam may leave Abu Simbel as the paramount monument of the New Kingdom. There were many other temples moved, some left in Nubia, others distributed to countries that contributed heavily to the campaign. It was an astonishing achievement, and the brief accounts of several operations give the reader some idea of the devotion of the people who carried it out.

The archaeological campaigns were no less immense. Annex I (pp. 223–26) gives a brief summary of participation arranged according to national origin. The account of the work concentrates on the general problems and organization, and it gives only a brief space to the work of expeditions, concentrating on six of the outstanding results. More detailed accounts of many expeditions are available in preliminary and final reports, and others are in preparation. Many sites were not explored (p. 204), and many were explored only partly, or reported in a way that stressed easily recognized materials at the expense of the less distinctive.<sup>1</sup>

The text concludes with an evaluation of the rescue's success and some lessons it holds for future emergencies of a similar kind. It must be admitted, however, that Nubia was unique in our time. Never before, and not since, have urgent archaeological problems combined with political expediency to arrive at such a positive result. That it happened was due in large part to the determination, devotion, and diplomacy of many, notably Sæve-Söderbergh himself, and in many ways this

book, without saying so, reflects his own achievement.

The volume has six appendixes (called Annexes) and a bibliographic summary. Excellent illustrations, many in color, reflect much of the atmosphere of the work and its results.

BRUCE WILLIAMS

*The University of Chicago*

---

*An Index to English Periodical Literature on the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies.* Vols. 1 and 2. By WILLIAM G. HUPPER. ATLA Bibliography Series, no. 21. Metuchen, New Jersey and London: The American Theological Library Association and the Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987 and 1988. Vol. 1, pp. lvi + 516. \$47.50. Vol. 2, pp. xxxviii + 502. \$45.

In these days of computer-aided bibliographies with institutional or foundation financial support, it is amazing to find a bibliography prepared over a number of years by a single dedicated individual using simply file cards. Volume 1 covers publications in English (even if published in foreign journals) in periodicals from the late 1700s through 1969. The author expresses regret that he could not include foreign language publications in the same way—surely an impossible task for any single individual. This is in some measure compensated for by the fact that by consulting the articles in English, one will be led to relevant studies in other languages. There are numerous subdivisions within which entries are listed in chronological order. This has a distinct advantage in that it allows one to follow the scholarly discussion of a particular topic over a number of years (for example, metallurgy). Much is included that has no present scholarly value (the author states frankly, "Entries are listed without regard to their scholarly integrity"), but they are nevertheless of interest for intellectual history.

Space limitations preclude listing even the major divisions of the bibliography. Many

<sup>1</sup> Bruce Williams, *Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier*, pt. 1, *The A-Group Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L.*, Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, vol. 3 (Chicago, 1986), pp. 5–7; idem, "A Chronology of Meroitic Occupation below the Fourth Cataract" *JARCE* 22 (1985): 149–95.



readers are likely to be interested in the alphabetical listing of Old Testament persons. There are several pages on Abraham but only a single entry each for Caleb and Lot. There is a separate listing of the kings and queens of Israel and Judah.

Volume 2 continues with ancient Near Eastern history, including chronology, with an alphabetical list of persons<sup>1</sup> and ending with an alphabetical listing of specific cities and places in Palestine (pp. 312-502).

This volume seems to have an unusually high number of typographical errors (such as "stratigraphy," misspelled on p. 250), but most of them are in names where they would not be easily caught by someone unfamiliar with Near Eastern studies! It was probably unavoidable in a work such as this that many outdated readings (mostly in personal names) are in the headings as well as in the titles of articles. Thus, for example, one has Shar-gani-sharri for Shar-kali-sharri, Ur-engur for Ur-Nammu, Ina-bit-saggil-tuklat instead of Ina-É-saggil-tuklat. Entries are found under both Thutmose (p. 101) and Tuthmosis (p. 104), both Nabopolassar (p. 65) and Nebopolassar (p. 67); Nebuchadrezzar and Nebuchadnezzar have been combined, however. A couple of deities slipped in among the personal names (Marduk on p. 59, Amūn on p. 17).

A particularly valuable section is devoted to modern scientific studies concerning the Near East and Old Testament, going from an article on scriptural notices of volcanoes and earthquakes (1867-68) through a microanalytic study of ground stone artifacts ("artefacts" is the British spelling and [*sic*] is hence unnecessary). There are also many meteorological observations for Jerusalem in the nineteenth century. William Dever's article cited on p. 252 on epigraphic material from the area of Khirbet El-Kôm was inadvertently included in the section on geological studies; the name of the site is not included in the list of place names, however.

The table of contents is very helpful in locating where a given topic is likely to be covered. However, I wonder where articles on beekeeping are to be found (assuming they were included). At the same time, I miss a section that would include such articles as S. Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in Ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," *JAOS* 81 (1961): 27-34.

This bibliography is a major achievement and is particularly valuable in providing access to nineteenth century articles that would be otherwise virtually unknown and unread. In spite of slips of the kinds mentioned here, we can be very grateful for these volumes which take us through 1969. We express our thanks to the author and wish him well in preparing future volumes.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

---

*The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part 1: Letters from Assyria and the West.* State Archives of Assyria, vol. 1. By SIMO PARPOLA. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. Pp. xxvi + 262 + 38 figs. + folding map.

Assyrian studies have been enjoying a renaissance in the past few years. One of the principal architects of this phenomenon is Simo Parpola of the University of Helsinki, who has made the state archives of Assyria a major focus of his work. The correspondence and records written in Aramaic on papyrus have not survived, but the cuneiform inscriptions on clay have, in some measure, been preserved, despite their being smashed to pieces in the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C. Of the approximately 6,000 archival cuneiform texts from Nineveh, Parpola has been able to assign about 1,300 texts and fragments to the correspondence of Sargon II. Of these, he edits 265 in this first volume, the letters from Assyria and the West. Because of his long experience with the original tablets in the British Museum,

<sup>1</sup> I noted Adad-Nirair instead of Adad-Nirari and Ur-Ningurus instead of Ur-Ningirsu.

Parpola is often able to recognize individual handwritings and thus to assign fragmentary texts to their proper correspondence file.

Now, for the first time, we have available a portion of Sargon's correspondence in an edition that is up to date and reliable (there is no need to criticize the pioneering work of R. F. Harper and Leroy Waterman). Of these letters, 28 are identifiable as being *from* Sargon. As would be expected, the overwhelming proportion is *to* the king, including 12 from Senacherib as crown prince. The topics vary widely, including military and diplomatic matters, but also cultic topics, agriculture, and administrative personnel. Several from the treasurer deal with transport of stone thresholds and bull colossi as well as logs and timber for various building projects.

The letters are full of interesting bits of information, including what appears to be a ban on selling iron to Arabs. Several letters are concerned with locusts, including killing and collecting them. The broken condition of many letters deprives us of the information needed to understand what is going on. An example is no. 222, mentioning pulling up 1,000 apple tree saplings. Perhaps *nasāhu* (not in the glossary) should be understood as removing young trees to transplant elsewhere (as in no. 226 where young fruit trees are to be shipped to Dur-Šarruken).

Parpola himself promises detailed commentaries on the letters once the text editions have been published. We can expect these to be rich indeed, reflecting his intimate knowledge of the texts and the individuals involved in the correspondence. Two additional volumes of Assyrian letters are planned and a final text volume with the Babylonian letters. Meanwhile, utilizing the potential of computers, the volume has been made very useful: a glossary of logograms and their Assyrian readings (for example, KÙ.BABBAR is read *šarpu*), a glossary of Assyrian words (complete, including the commonest prepositions), indexes of personal and geographical names, subject index by English key-words, etc. Julian Reade's selection of illustrations (mainly from the Assyrian reliefs) vividly portray events and activities described in the letters.

This is a marvelous start on what promises to be a remarkable contribution to ancient Near Eastern studies.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

---

*Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vol. 1. *Diaries from 652 B.C. to 262 B.C.* By ABRAHAM J. SACHS†, completed and edited by HERMANN HUNGER. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 195. Band. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988. Pp. 377 + 69 pls. (in a separate vol.).

It is a great pleasure to welcome the first volume of the publication of the Babylonian astronomical diaries that the late Abraham Sachs devoted so many years of his life to. Fortunately, shortly before his death, he requested that Hermann Hunger be entrusted with the task of completing the work. This was surely a very wise choice, for probably no other scholar has the requisite knowledge of both cuneiform and astronomy to carry on the project. Obviously Hunger's contribution is far greater than either he or Sachs anticipated.

Nearly all the preserved astronomical diaries are based on observations made at Babylon (one is known from Uruk, however). The earliest known example is from 652 B.C. (-651 in their terminology; the minus year numbers serve as text numbers, with A, B, C, etc., used to distinguish between different diaries from the same year). This first volume contains texts which are datable (either by the preserved date or by computations based on lunar and planetary data provided by the texts), going to as late as 262 B.C.

The tablets included a wealth of information, but their very broken and fragmentary condition leaves much missing. Since the Babylonian day began at sunset, nighttime observations come first—weather, followed by lunar and planetary observations. Also included is information on solstices and equinoxes and

Sirius phenomena, meteors, comets, etc., prices of staple commodities (various foodstuffs and wool), all in terms of the quantity a shekel of silver would buy, the river level of the Euphrates measured at Babylon, and finally, noteworthy events. The latter category is very uneven, ranging from items of real historical interest (such as no. -330 with a long passage about Alexander, reports on battles, troop movements, etc.) to anecdotal reports on unusual events such as the hatching of a bird with three legs. Other events included epidemics and swarms of locusts.

The texts are written in an extraordinary terse style, consisting largely of abbreviations. Some, such as *ár* for *arki*, "behind," *e* for *eli*, "above," *ina bi* for *ina birû*, "between," are easy. Apparently *i* is for *īša*, "little" and *maḥ* for *maḥdu*, "much." Several terms, in particular some having to do with weather phenomena, have so far defied interpretation. A rather picturesque expression describes the amount of rain, "it rained so that the sandal was removed (or: was not removed)," apparently meaning that there was so much mud that it was necessary to walk barefooted (as is still the practice in rural Iraq today). In some cases the words are generally clear, but the real meaning is not. Such a case is *šub izi*, translated by Hunger as "fall of fire" in quotation marks. One might think of "strike by lightning," but this seems not to be the case since it does not occur in contexts with lightning (*gír gír*, "lightning flashed"). Other expressions seem obscure, as in quite a few examples of the sun rising or setting in a box (*pitnu*); once (no. -277 [p. 328, line C15]) referred to as a "black box"; Hunger (p. 240) suggests that it refers to a kind of cloud. The term *ú.lal šub.šub-ni* (or *šub.meš-ni*) (no. -384 obv. 9 and -379 rev. 13), translated p. 71 as "tornados kept falling down," surely deserves the question mark provided in the second example.

It strikes me as curious that there is no mention in the diaries of one of the most characteristic weather phenomena of Iraq, the sand storm or dust storm (Akkadian *ašam-šutu*, Iraqi Arabic *ʿajāj*), and I wonder whether

this phenomenon may be hidden in the texts by a different term or by one of the unresolved writings. The only possibility that comes to mind is *šār* (see discussion on p. 32), which is said of winds. With considerable hesitation, Hunger has translated the term as "gusty."

Publication of additional diaries and the glossary will surely facilitate access to these texts. In the meantime, interesting questions arise. In no. -321 obv. 9, the explicit writing *ḫim ina šā-šú i-šag-gu-um*, "Adad rumbled in it" makes one wonder whether some examples of *KA* referring to thunder are to be read *šagāmu* rather than *šasû* (instances written *KA-si* are unambiguous, of course). In no. -418 obv. 7, "a meteor [*MÚL GAL*, here inadvertently translated as "a big star"] which was like a torch flashed from south to north, and the land heard the noise of the sky" reminds one of passages which seem to be concerned with meteors in the introductory part of "Prophecy Text B,"<sup>1</sup> where there is twice reference to the land hearing noise ([...] *is-sa-a-ma KUR iš-me*, "[...] made a sound and the land heard it" (line 2) and *KA BE GIŠ.IG.MEŠ AN-e šá KUR iš-mu-ú*, "the sound of the opening(?) of the doors of heaven which the land heard" (line 6). The expression "the land heard" is perhaps to be understood as referring to the unusual sound sometimes accompanying a meteor. If this is a characteristic term used by the observers in the diaries, it might support my suggestion on the background of the Babylonian prophecies.<sup>2</sup>

Much more could obviously be written about this exciting volume, but, contents, aside, let it be said that the typography is elegant and easily readable with text and translations on facing pages (with photos of

<sup>1</sup> See my article, "More Babylonian 'Prophecies,'" *Iraq* 29 (1967): 117-32, esp. p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> See my "Babylonian Prophecies, Astrology, and a New Source for 'Prophecy Text B,'" in F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, AOS 67 (New Haven, 1987), pp. 1-14, esp. p. 6.

the texts in a separate volume); the English is excellent, and misprints seem very rare. I am sure Abe Sachs would have been delighted with this volume.

ROBERT D. BIGGS

*The University of Chicago*

*Sumerian Administrative Documents from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilišu.* By MARC VAN DE MIEROOP. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University, vol. 10. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987. Pp. vii + 47 + 75 pls. \$35.

The 317 texts presented in this volume (314 in copies, 3 in transliteration) belong to a single archive, the archive of the royal workshop in Isin during the reigns of Išbi-Erra (2017–1985 B.C.) and Šū-ilišu (1984–1975 B.C.) and represent the unpublished material from this archive studied by the author in his dissertation “The Early Isin Craft Archive” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983); 288 texts belong to the Nies Babylonian Collection at Yale University, 25 to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and one text to the Harvard Semitic Museum. The three texts published in transliteration only (p. 46) are from collections in the Chicago area (nos. 1 and 2 belonging to the Lindblom High School, no. 3 to Mr. Sheldon).

The copied texts (pls. 1–73) are presented typologically: receipts of raw materials (nos. 1–58), receipts of materials by the craftsmen (nos. 59–71), receipts of finished products by workshop officials (nos. 72–82), receipts of finished products and their disbursement (nos. 83–86), and issues of finished products (nos. 87–195). The remaining texts are a group of miscellaneous archival texts, labels (nos. 196–207), and attendance records of craftsmen (nos. 208–314). Drawings of the seal impressions on tablets in this volume are given on pls. 74–75.

The standard catalogue lists the dates of the texts according to the sequence of year names

used by V. Crawford in his publication of texts belonging to this archive in BIN 9 as well as the author's revised list which he presents on pp. 2–3. Indexes of Personal Names, Divine names, Geographical Names, Temple Names, and (selected) Terms found in these documents complete the volume.

Checking the indexes against the published copies showed quite a few incorrect references. Some readings also seem to be inaccurate. Corrected references are included in the following remarks only if they are off by more than one line. Note that in no. 243 the Rev. is counted continuously in the copy but quoted as Rev. 1' ff. in the indexes. The copies were not checked against the originals.

### *Personal Names*

- s.v. *A-al-la-mu* 310:4;
- s.v. *A-ḫu-ba-a*: seal c (pl. 74) has Ur-<sup>d</sup>Lugal-banda<sub>3</sub>; NU;
- read *A-li<sub>2</sub>-šu-ni*;
- read *E-te-el<sub>2</sub>* (IL)-<sup>d</sup>[Iš]-bi-Er<sub>3</sub>-ra in 139:8;
- read Gal-zu-na-x-lu: x looks like KI in 82:12, is broken in 58:1 and unclear in 166:2, but not LU;
- read Gir<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>3</sub> (ZA) in 99:4; broken in 58:3
- s.v. *I-din-ilī*: 242 rev. 4';
- s.v. *Ilī-ba-ni* 6.: 54:3;
- s.v. <sup>d</sup>Iš-bi-Er<sub>3</sub>-ra-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-ma-ti-šu: one expects <sup>d</sup>Iš<sup>1</sup>-[bi-E]r<sub>3</sub>-ra-<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.[KAL]AM.[MA.N]A in 77:3;
- s.v. <sup>d</sup>Iš-bi-Er<sub>3</sub>-ra-nu-ur<sub>2</sub>-ma-ti-šu 1.: 33:9 has <sup>d</sup>Iš-bi-Er<sub>3</sub>-ra-nu-ur<sub>2</sub>-ti [(x)];
- s.v. *Išdum-ki-in* 1.: 231:17;
- s.v. *Ku<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nanna* 1.: 310:26;
- s.v. *Kur-ru-ub-Er<sub>3</sub>-ra* 1.: 107:4 has *Ku-ru-ub-Er<sub>3</sub>-ra*;
- s.v. *Lugal-ab-ba* 1.: 278:13;
- s.v. *Lugal-i<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>3</sub>* 1.: 310–12;
- delete *Lugal-TAB.BA-i<sub>3</sub>*, 299:12 has *Lugal-ab-ba* (as quoted s.v.);
- s.v. *Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su* 2.: delete 153:11, copy has *Lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-š[ubur]* (as quoted s.v.);
- s.v. *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub>*, from the copies it is not always clear whether one should read -<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub> or -<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU (see s.v. *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Šin*);
- s.v. *Šu-<sup>d</sup>Adad* 1.: 297:17;



- s.v. *Šu-dNin-kar-ak* 2.: 113 (not 112):5; 128 (not 124):14; written *Šu-dNin-kar-ra-ak* in 59:4; 96:7; 99:3; 124:8; 178:4; 179:3; 180:3;  
 s.v. *Šu-PAP.PAP* 1.: 281:24 (L.E.);  
 s.v. *Ur-du<sub>6</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>-ga*: copy in 256:13 looks like *Ur-du<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>-ša<sub>3</sub>-ga*.  
 s.v. *Ur-dLi<sub>9</sub>-si-na* 1.: 217:1<sup>d</sup>; 233:1<sup>b</sup>; 236:1<sup>1a</sup>; 238:1<sup>c</sup>; 244:1<sup>b</sup>; 256:1<sup>f</sup>; 287:1<sup>b</sup>;  
 s.v. *Ur-dLugal-ban<sub>3</sub>-da* 1.: seal c (pl. 74) has *Ur-dLugal-banda<sub>3</sub>NU*; 2.: 218:24 has *Ur-dLugal(-ban<sub>3</sub>)-da*;  
 s.v. *Ur-dŠin* 1.: 219:8;

### Divine Names

- s.v. *E<sub>2</sub>-a(f)*, in the names . . . , *En-um-*, . . . ;  
 add *dLU<sub>2</sub>.LAL<sub>3</sub>*, in the name *Ur-*;  
 s.v. *dNin-in-si-na*: 159:11 has *dNin-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in*-*n[a]*;  
 s.v. *dNin-kar(-ra)-ak*: in the names *Puzur<sub>4</sub>-Šu-* (not *Lu<sub>2</sub>-*);  
 s.v. *dŠin*: add to the names *Ur-*;  
 add *dTIR*, in the name *Ur-*.

### Geographical Names

- read *Ur<sub>3</sub>-ra<sup>ki</sup>*;  
 read *a-ša<sub>3</sub> ši-tum-ma*.

### Terms

As the author himself points out at the end of the introduction (p. 3) regarding the index of Terms, "the English translations and some of the readings could not be argued in this volume."

The volume adds to the corpus of early Old Babylonian administrative texts and continues the publication of the texts in the James B. Nies Babylonina Collection at Yale University.

HERMANN BEHRENS

University of Pennsylvania

of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, 1986. Pp. xxii + 144.

This volume continues the most laudable efforts by Avraham Negev in reconstructing the history and material culture of the Nabataean kingdom. Virtually all of the known Nabataean sites west of Wadi 'Araba bear the mark of his intensive fieldwork, and Oboda (ca. 110 km SW of Jerusalem) is among the sites most extensively published by Negev.

Oboda, a town situated at a junction of important caravan routes leading to Petra, Gaza, and Aila, was most probably founded at the beginning of the third century B.C., and it continued in existence, with two major interruptions in occupation,<sup>1</sup> until the Byzantine period. A few important structures from the Nabataean-Roman period have been unearthed there, one of the most significant being the Pottery Workshop (hereafter PW), discovered by Negev in 1959. Its significance lies not only in the fact that the large quantities of the Western and Eastern Terra Sigillata Ware as well as Nabataean Painted and Plain Ware were found there, but also because until 1979 no other pottery kilns from the Nabataean period were known within the area of the Nabataean Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Despite its title, *The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Period Pottery of Nabataean Oboda: Final Report* (hereafter *LHERP*), it is in fact a companion volume to Negev's earlier volume *The Nabataean Pottery Workshop at Oboda* (Bonn, 1974) (hereafter *NPW*). Although the most exemplary ceramic types from the Pottery Workshop have been published in the earlier volume, the more recent work supplements it well, by presenting further finds from the PW and from other loci (e.g., the Nabataean Dump [ND], Nabataean House, etc.). In the new volume, Negev continues to present the pottery by type/group rather

<sup>1</sup> The time of Malichus II, and the early second-middle third century A.D.; see Negev, "Oboda, Mampsis and Provincia Arabia," *Israel Exploration Journal* 17 [1967]: 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> For the preliminary report on the pottery kilns from Petra, see F. Zayadine, "Recent Excavations at Petra (1979-81)," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 26 (1982): 380-93.

*The Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Pottery of Nabatean Oboda: Final Report*. By ABRAHAM NEGEV. Qedem: Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, vol. 22. Jerusalem: The Institute

than stratigraphically—a controversial choice but justified by the author, since the PW represents only one phase of use, and no stratigraphic subdivisions were observed (*NPW*, p. 44). Similarly, the other loci produced either no definite stratification or contained “sealed deposits” dated mainly to the same (Middle Nabataean) period (*LHERP*, pp. xxi–xxii). This, as well as the still inadequate treatment of Nabataean ceramic chronology from the sites on both sides of ‘Araba, contributed to the heavy impact of Negev’s highly unconventional chronological interpretation of Nabataean history, as presented in both *NPW* and *LHERP*.

*LHERP* is, however, an excellent scholarly study, indispensable for anyone involved in Nabataean studies. The ceramic typology is presented in a clear and systematic way supported by numerous references, and it corrects some of the confusion in the earlier publication (in *NPW*, Pompeian Red Ware was classified incorrectly as a type of the Eastern Sigillata). The most notable achievement of the recent study is probably the expanded presentation of the vast repertoire of decorative patterns seen in Nabataean Painted Ware. Although a chronological division is not attempted here, Negev acknowledges the existence of types which do not appear in the PW but mainly in the ND (*LHERP*, p. 36). These vessels, more coarse in appearance and characterized by more conventionalized motifs and often complete shading in the empty space, would support the notion that the Nabataean Painted Ware in Oboda survived the cessation of the PW production, dated by Negev as ca. A.D. 50.<sup>3</sup>

A number of Oboda vessels have undergone neutron activation analysis to determine their chemical composition, and the provenience of the clays (J. Gunneweg et al., *The Provenience, Typology, and Chronology of Eastern Terra Sigillata* [Jerusalem, 1983]). Surprisingly, it appears that the PW at Oboda might

have utilized clay material imported from elsewhere. The large quantities of the Eastern Sigillata (Gunneweg’s ETS I) and of vessels characterized by deeper colored fabric and superior quality slip (Gunneweg’s ETS II = Negev’s “Nabataean Sigillata”) found in PW supported Negev’s suggestion that both classes were produced in Oboda. Gunneweg’s analysis, supported by the results of the excavations at the well-stratified Paphos published by Hayes, suggested that Eastern Cyprus (for ETS I) and Southwestern Anatolia (for ETS II) were the most likely manufacturing centers. Both Gunneweg’s analysis and Negev’s conclusions may not be entirely conclusive; no kiln wasters, the most suitable source for establishing a “chemical fingerprint” were reported in Oboda, although some unfired Eastern Sigillata A Ware was found in the kiln (*NPW*, p. 35). This has certainly cast some doubt on Negev’s ideas, and thus in the recent volume he has proposed a very interesting, but difficult to prove, hypothesis in which he states that the clays could have been transported from the other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean as ships’ ballast. It is possible that some of the clay used in Oboda could have been soaked with seawater during transport, thus necessitating further considerations for its chemical analysis. At any rate, the hypothesis supporting local production of the ETS I and “Nabataean Sigillata” at Oboda has to be modified, and the search for some local and hitherto unknown clay sources having a chemical composition similar to that revealed in Gunneweg’s study must be continued.

Although the importation of finished products seems unlikely, judging from the large quantities of sherds found in the PW, this possibility ought not to be discarded either. Also possible is the existence of a large pottery *suq* nearby, one typical of the Middle East, where imported vessels could be purchased along with the locally produced ones.

The remarks offered above also address the problem of Nabataean Painted and Plain Ware, the chemical composition of which bears no resemblance to that of ETS I and ETS II. Once again, Negev suggests that although the clay was not local, it could have

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Negev’s patterns 52 and 53 with Parr’s nos. 6–7 (“Pottery, People and Politics,” in *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Dame Kathleen Kenyon* [London, 1978], pp. 202–3).

been transported by camel to Oboda. *LHERP* mentions two possible places of origin (not specified) for the Nabataean sherds from both sides of <sup>c</sup>Araba, which have been submitted to neutron activation analysis, but it is unclear if they mean the centers of production or sources of clay. It is hoped that the recent publication on the chemical analysis of the pottery from Petra may shed some light on this problem.<sup>4</sup> With regard to these observations and taking into account the survivability factor of Nabataean eggshell ware, one wishes that the Nabataean painted sherds found as far south as Qaryat al-Faw could be subjected to chemical composition analysis as well.

Negev establishes the beginning of the Nabataean pottery at Oboda, which coincides well with the beginning of his Middle Nabataean period, at ca. 30–25 B.C. This date is firmly established on the basis of the datable finds from the PW (Augustan and "Herodian" lamps and imported Sigillata). Arezzo Ware appears at some other sites in Israel at the same time (Gunneweg et al., 1983, p. 17). The *terminus* for Nabataean Painted Ware at Oboda as well as for the Middle Nabataean period is problematic. Using coinage, epigraphic material, and general historical considerations, Negev postulated the end of the Middle Nabataean period as occurring in the middle of the first century A.D., a period marked by the abandonment of Oboda and the apparent destruction in the area (including the sites along the Petra-Gaza road), due to the arrival of the new Arab tribes (Negev, *Nabataean Archaeology Today* [New York, 1986], p. 27; hereafter *NAT*). Since the Late Nabataean period would begin with the reign of Rabbel II (A.D. 70–106), the reign of Malichus II (A.D. 40–70) was generally seen as an intermediate period. As the majority of the coins found in the PW belonged to the time of Aretas IV (9 B.C.–A.D. 40) and imported pottery found there seems to fall well within this time period, the PW may have indeed terminated its activity around A.D. 50. The production of Nabataean pottery obviously continued, as seen through types found in the ND

where coins of Malichus II and Rabbel II were discovered. This evidence, coupled with the result of excavations at Mampsis, has encouraged Negev to change the *terminus* of the Middle Nabataean to A.D. 50–70 (*NAT*, p. 25). One must analyze the evidence to see if some serious calamity occurred in Oboda and the neighboring area during A.D. 50–70. Some doubts about the alleged decline during Malichus's reign, the date of the destruction levels at Oboda, and evidence of catastrophic invasions have already been voiced (G. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* [Cambridge, Mass., 1983], p. 72). Negev also postulates an economic decline during Malichus's reign on the basis of the extremely low content of silver in Nabataean coins at that time (see further Y. Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins* [Jerusalem, 1975]). Any deductions about the economic and political situation of the Nabataean kingdom based on Meshorer's analysis may prove inconclusive, as a more recent study shows.<sup>5</sup> Finally, and more accurately, it seems that the evidence of noticeable destruction and rebuilding activities observed at many sites in southern and central Palestine, including Petra, Mampsis, Oboda, and Masada, as well as sites along the Petra-Gaza road may have been the result of the disastrous earthquake of the early second century A.D. (K. W. Russell, "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the Mid-8th Century A.D.," *BASOR* 260 [1985]: 37–59).

Negev should be praised for his handling of the enormous quantity of ceramic material from Oboda. The significance of this work lies not only in his exemplary and thorough presentation of archaeological data, but also in his attempts to produce a more cohesive chronological and historical account of the Nabataean culture. His work should stimulate more excavation and the publishing of Nabataean cultural remains on both sides of Wadi <sup>c</sup>Araba. This comprehensive study of the pottery from Oboda provides scholars with the

<sup>4</sup> K. <sup>2</sup>Amr, *The Pottery from Petra: A Neutron Activation Analysis Study* (Oxford, 1987); I did not see this work before completing this review.

<sup>5</sup> N. Khairy, "Silver Nabataean Coins in Jordan," *Dirasat*, vol. 12, no. 8 (Amman, 1985), pp. 76–77, points out that the failure to take into consideration the changeable density of coins during nuclear analysis may provide incorrect reading of the silver content.



standard reference work on Nabataean pottery, and Negev's efforts should be applauded.

#### ADDENDUM

Since the submission of this review (1987), several relevant contributions appeared or became available. These include:

J.-M. Dentzer, ed., *Hauran I*, Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du Sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine, Première partie, Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche Orient, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. 124. This volume includes ceramic studies by J.-M. Dentzer, M. Barret, L. Courtois, D. Orssaud, and F. Villeneuve (pp. 219-60); I. Perlman, J. Gunneweg, and J. Yellin, "Pseudo-Nabataean Ware and Pottery of Jerusalem," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 262 (1986): 77-82. Kh. ʿAmr, "Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of Pottery and Clay from the Zubarreh Kiln Complex," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 30 (1986): 319-28; A. Negev, *Nabatean Archaeology Today* (New York and London, 1986). This volume summarizes Negev's views on Nabatean pottery and its temporal distribution in the Negev. M. Killick, ed., *Udhruh: Caravan City and Desert Oasis* (Hampshire, 1987), pp. 7-8. This note contains information on Nabataean pottery kiln and Nabataean ceramics found in Udhruh; R. Wenning, *Die Nabatäer—Denkmäler und Geschichte* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1987). This volume presents the up-to-date spatial distribution of Nabataean pottery.

ZBIGNIEW T. FIEMA

University of Utah

*Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel.* By ZECHARIA KALLAI. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press of the Hebrew University and Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986. Pp. xii + 543. \$48.

Renewed interest in biblical historical geography makes the appearance of the present volume timely. It is a fully revised, expanded, and updated version of the author's 1967 He-

brew publication *Nahālôt Šibṭê Yisrāʾēl* and represents the cumulative fruits of years of research by an Israeli scholar who has devoted his career to investigating the problems and intricacies of ancient Israelite tribal and territorial boundary systems. Its discussions of the site identifications of a majority of the place-names that occur in the Hebrew Bible will make it a standard reference, to be consulted along with Y. Aharoni's *Land of the Bible*, F. M. Abel's *Géographie de la Palestine*, and N. Naʾaman's new book, *Borders and Districts*.

Such a massive work cannot be adequately evaluated within the space of a short review. The following synopsis will be limited to Kallai's stated goals and methods, a brief review of his presentation, and a highlighting of some of the more important conclusions and proposals. A short critique will address major issues raised by the work.

The stated goals of the study are to elucidate the content of the geographical lists found in the Bible, to determine their dates, and to clarify the relationship of the lists to one another and to geographical notices in other scriptural passages. The main lists investigated include the tribal boundary system, the town lists, and the system of Levitical cities and Cities of Refuge in the Book of Joshua; the system of Levitical cities in 1 Chronicles; the lists of "Conquered Land," "Remaining Land," and "Conquest Lacunae" in Joshua and Judges 1; and the Transjordanian tribal lists in Numbers 32. The introduction contains a brief summary of previous investigations of the boundary system and their methods.

Kallai's method involves an independent examination of each list, as a complete entity, to clarify its meaning and manner of description in light of internal evidence. The author works under the stated premise that each list represents a picture of once-existing reality and is not a fabrication of an ancient writer, so that each will reflect its given reality, regardless of possible secondary form or later redaction or revision. The lists are therefore examined as they are found, and each one's geographical significance is used as the main criterion for establishing the time period for which a given list portrays existing conditions. No attempt is made to reconstruct the lists "historically" and to discover the nucleus of the description by



removing "additions" (p. 16), and no presumption is made that the reflected historical period is automatically the time of composition. "The literary history of the text is a separate issue that is not of primary consequence for the historical analysis" (p. 17). A comparative study of the lists is then made to establish their interrelationships.

Part 1 establishes a historical framework for analyzing the lists. It presents a survey of Israel's "historical" background, from the period of the Judges to the fall of Jerusalem. The depiction of all eras rests on a paraphrase of the biblical account, without any critical analysis or attempt to separate fact from fiction. The presentation of the period of David and Solomon is the most extensive, reviewing David's reported census (2 Sam. 24:5-9; 1 Chron. 21:1-6); analyzing the Solomonic district list in 1 Kings 4; and discussing the list of Solomon's fortresses (1 Kings 9:15-19; 2 Chron. 8:3-6). Kallai concludes that Judah was not originally included in the Solomonic district list and that the three Transjordanian districts correspond to the tribal allotments of Gad, Reuben, and half-Manasseh. The survey of the later period of the Divided Monarchies includes an examination of the Mesha Stele.

Part 2 contains a geographical analysis of the tribal boundary system (Joshua 13-19). The basic principle of enumeration in the boundary descriptions is seen to be the enumeration of territories, especially peripheral areas of allotment. Kallai concludes that the boundary system represents a general comprehensive territory system that provides a continuous description of the whole land of Israel without omissions. In his opinion, a single given background must have served as the basis for the description. He concludes that the lists of the "Remaining Land" and the "Conquest Lacunae" complement the boundary system and so represent the same historical reality, while the town-lists do not agree in a number of allotments, and so, in some cases, must represent a different period. A detailed analysis of each of the eleven territorial units representing the boundary system in Joshua 13-19 is made. In discussing Gad's allotment, the author accepts the system of towers in Transjordan as Ammonite border fortresses.

Part 3 is a historical analysis of the boundary system. Kallai concludes, as others before him, that the boundary system reflects the period of the United Monarchy under David and Solomon; specifically, the initial half of Solomon's reign, before the loss of the northern sea coast to Hiram. He suggests that the sole difference between the boundary system and Solomon's districts is that the former describes the territory in question by tribal affiliation, while the latter describes it by administrative divisions. Nevertheless, "the mutual interrelationship of the two systems is quite plain" (p. 282). The town lists of Dan and Simeon are seen to complete the boundary system and are thought to reflect a period of time no later than the reign of Solomon.

After analyzing the alternate set of allotment traditions for Transjordan found in Numbers 32 and Judges 11-12, Kallai concludes that they reflect the period of the Judges, and thus represent a prior phase in the settlement process and development of boundary systems. Part 3, chap. 3 examines all the *sources* pertaining to the period of David and Solomon, including: the boundary system system, the description of the Conquered Land and allotted country, the list of Conquest Lacunae; David's census, Solomon's list of districts, and miscellaneous texts belonging chronologically to this period. The inner structure of the Solomonic district list is not seen to reflect the process of David's consolidation of his rule, as B. Mazar proposes, but to result from "the creation of five districts on the basis of the House of Joseph" as the central point of departure, after the completion of the process of consolidation (p. 317). Kallai closes part 3 with the assertion that the biblical delineation of the borders of Canaan, which serves as an important component in the complex of descriptions of Israel's inheritance of the land of Canaan, is based on the historical reminiscence of the Egyptian province of Canaan, even though the details of the description are taken from the historical reality of the kingdom of Solomon.

Part 4 offers an investigation of the extant town lists in the Book of Joshua. Name duplication in the lists of Judah, Simeon, Dan, and Benjamin is not understood to result from the adaptation of one comprehensive

document, as Alt suggested, but to reflect overlap in independent lists that come from different time periods. The author examines each town-list individually, and discusses the proposed site identification of each place-name. In the case of Benjamin's list, the noticeable gap of settlements in the area north of Jerusalem is attributed to a loss of a third territorial unit by scribal error.

Kallai concludes that Judah's town list, including the insertion of the Philistine passage in 15:45-47, mirrors the period of Hezekiah, even though it may rely upon an administrative organization that was initially introduced in the time of Jehoshaphat, or earlier. Simeon's town list is seen to mirror the time of David, Dan's list that of Solomon's second district, and Benjamin's list that of the expansion accomplished by Abijah, thus predating the days of Jehoshaphat. The town lists of Zebulun, Naphtali, Issachar, Asher, Transjordanian half-Manasseh, Reuben, and Gad are dated to the Solomonic era on the basis of their agreement with the boundary system. It is suggested that the lists for Naphtali and Asher are incomplete in their northern extremes, since they do not reflect the northern limits of the tribal boundary allotments. The town-lists in general are thought to have been preserved either in written form, or in archives, or orally in family traditions.

Part 5 discusses the list of Levitic Cities in Joshua 21 and 1 Chron. 6. After a partial survey of past research and a review of the issue of the historical vs. utopian nature of the list, Kallai concludes that the list in Joshua 21 is to be dated to the latter half of Solomon's reign because of the inclusion of Gezer and the status of the Transjordanian Levitic cities. Due to the presence of cities in the extreme northern coastal area, he argues that the date must precede Solomon's ceding of Asherite territory to Hiram. A full analysis of the two lists of Levitic cities, and the list of cities of refuge in Joshua 20 is then made. The cities of refuge and Levitic cities are found to share the same framework. The author attributes the differences in the two lists of Levitic cities to the literary dependency of the list in 1 Chronicles on the list in Joshua 21. He makes no decision as to whether the omission of an allotment of Dan from 1 Chronicles 6 is un-

intentional or deliberate. Part 5 ends with a comparison of the Levitic cities with the cities enumerated in the tribal allotments.

A three-page summary concludes the massive analysis undertaken in Parts 1-5. It is followed by two tables: one of sources and their territorial testimony, arranged chronologically, and one of settlement names found in the descriptions of the tribal allotments, which are correlated with other appearances of those names in the main territorial sources of the Bible. A list of abbreviations, five maps detailing Judah's territorial configuration under Rehoboam, the towns of Judah and Benjamin, the tribal territories, the Solomonic districts, and indexes complete the book.

While many of Kallai's observations are valuable, his stated methodology must be criticized. Contrary to his assertion, a text's literary history is crucial for historical investigation; literary criticism is a necessary prerequisite for all types of more specialized biblical investigation. In spite of his stated caveat that the discernment of the period that a given geographical text mirrors need not correspond to its period of composition, his conclusion in part 3, chap. 3, that the boundary system, which reflects the period of Solomon's reign, is a source dating to the Solomonic era, is made without any supporting argumentation other than the reflected reality described. Here Kallai has used circular reasoning. The fact that the Solomonic era was the latest period when the Judahite court controlled all the territory encompassed by the tribal boundary system means that it is also the last period in which administrative documents detailing the constituents and administrative boundaries of the Galilee, the House of Joseph, and most of Transjordan, would have been made part of the Judahite state archives for later use by southern writers. Yet this logical argument is not cited as primary proof of the Solomonic date of composition of Joshua 13-19.

The failure to include literary-critical examinations of the various texts that are investigated has resulted in some probable errors in conclusions. Two examples should suffice. In discussing the boundaries of Gad, Kallai has not recognized the almost certain secondary expansion in Josh. 13:26 represented by the phrase "and from Mahanaim the Lidebir" and

probably continuing to the end of the verse. This phrase extends Gad's holdings all the way to the Yarmuk River, thereby assigning him the traditional territorial allotment of half-Manasseh. This development would seem to be consistent with the statement in the Gadite genealogy in 1 Chron. 5:16-17 that the Gadites dwelt in Gilead, in Bashan and its towns, and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits in the days of Jotham king of Judah and Jeroboam, king of Israel. Assuming that the Chronicles statement is derived from a reliable royal chronicle or census list, one must eliminate v. 26b from the potential Gadite boundary in the original document underlying Joshua 13. The resulting picture restricts Gad to the southern side of the Jabbok River and locates Mahanaim in half-Manasseh's allotment, on the north side of the river (Telul el-Dhahab el-garbi). With this in mind, we must reject Kallai's conclusion that the seventh Solomonic district, centered at Mahanaim, represents the tribal territory of Gad.

The second example of probable faulty conclusions because of insufficient literary criticism involves Kalli's proposal that Benjamin's town list reflects the alleged northern territorial expansion of Abijah reported in 2 Chronicles 13. The historicity of Abijah's campaign has been questioned by B. Mazar in conversations with different scholars and recently in print by R. Klein ("Abijah's Campaign against the North (II Chr 13)—What Were the Chronicler's Sources?," *ZAW* 95 [1985]: 210-17). Klein argues that the account is fictitious, intended to anticipate Josiah's later expansions, and is based on the Benjaminite town list. If Abijah never expanded Judah's border northward, the Benjaminite town-list cannot be dated to his era. The other era that would seem to fit the stated boundaries of the list would be either the Hezekiahian or the Josianic age, depending upon how one evaluates the historicity of the biblical accounts of the reigns of these two kings. The inclusion of Benjamin within the state of Judah and its administrative framework might make it logical to seek a date of origin for Benjamin's town lists in the same period, from the same document as that of Judah's lists.

Kallai's updating of the English version has in most instances been accomplished by citing the appearance of new works in additional footnotes without any elaboration of their important contributions. His failure to integrate the results of most of the studies into the main body of discussion, modifying conclusions made some twenty years ago, is regrettable. It has weakened the usefulness of the book, since one is not certain how Kallai views the new evidence. The inadequacy of his chosen method of updating is felt particularly in the discussion of the Transjordanian allotments, in light of the study by M. Ottosson (*Gilead: Tradition and History* [Lund, 1969]) and the extensive archaeological survey work that has been accomplished since 1967. His failure to include subsequent archaeological investigations of the Levitic cities, such as have been undertaken in two American dissertations (J. L. Peterson, "A Topographical Survey of the Levitical 'Cities' of Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6: Studies on the Levites in Israelite Life and Religion" [Th. D. diss., Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1979], J. R. Spencer, "The Levitical Cities" [Ph. D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980], and also G. W. Ahlström (*Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, SHANE 1 [Leiden, 1982])), has hampered his ability to make an informed judgment concerning the historical provenience of these lists.

On a final critical note, the tendency to anticipate analysis and conclusions and the frequent cross-referencing to discussions of the same text in other parts of the book might have been avoided through a tighter organization and different presentation. While the logic of the chosen order of discussion is clear, the resulting repetition suggests that another approach would perhaps have yielded a more concise and efficient product.

Notwithstanding the critical comments made above, the volume represents a major, detailed study of the boundary lists in Joshua 13-19 and the Solomonic district list in 1 Kings 4, which will need to be consulted by anyone who does work in these areas in the future. The author's theoretical conclusions concerning the formulation of the pre-monarchic boundary system have been successfully chal-



lenged in N. Na'aman's recent study *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 4 (Jerusalem, 1986). Nevertheless, there are many good insights to be found throughout the book which remain valid, in spite of the methodological problems discussed above, and which deserve appropriate recognition.

DIANA EDELMAN

*Buffalo Grove, Illinois*

---

*Un Port romain du désert: Palmyre et son commerce d'Auguste à Caracalla.* By JAVIER TEIXIDOR. Semitica. vol. 34. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1984. Pp. 127 + 8 pls.

Palmyra has been the subject of much attention in recent years as a glance at Teixidor's select bibliography makes clear. More to the point, the character of its economic life as evidenced by the provisions of the great Tax Law, has been the subject of three recent studies: I. S. Schiffmann's new edition (in Russian) in 1980; Teixidor's own commentary on the Palmyrene text in 1983; and, inevitably not known to him, J. Matthews, "The Tax Law of Palmyra," *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 157–80, which incorporates a translation of the Greek text. Matthews, on the other hand, though not citing Schiffmann, utilized Teixidor's 1983 article—much of which is repeated in the second part of this current work, while Teixidor had access to Schiffmann but does not read Russian (p. 57, n. 138). The would-be user of the Tax Law would welcome a translation of Schiffmann.

The book is short—fewer than 100 pages exclusive of bibliography, plates, and index. The introduction surveys Palmyrene history and emphasizes the evidence for major Roman involvement beginning with Tiberius and taken to signify Palmyra's being brought under close Roman control. A conclusion considers Palmyra in the Roman Empire through the evidence for its status, Roman army units there, its unique location and character, the spread of Roman citizenship, and the impossibility of

full integration into the Roman tax system because of the difficulties of conducting a census. Finally, an appendix provides a continuous translation of the Palmyrene text of the Tax Law. Between the introduction and conclusion come seven chapters divided into two parts: "The Caravan City" (4) and "The Municipal Tax Law" (3).

Part 1 is concerned with routes within the Palmyrene, their control, the Parthian customs practice and the Palmyrene role; more distant trade routes, to India, from Arabia, and relations with their Nabataean rivals; Palmyrene agents and their influence in Parthian cities; and a discussion of the frequency of *international* caravans and income from this traffic.

In Part 2, the law regulating and taxing *domestic* goods and services is explained and discussed. There are immediate problems with this. The Tax Law is rendered in Greek and in Palmyrene. Problems of understanding and interpretation arise not just because of vocabulary but because the stone is damaged in places, especially on the Greek text, and the Palmyrene is not always a simple parallel of the Greek—indeed, there is no parallel at all for lines 121–49 of the Greek. More to the point, it appears very confused, and it is helpful to know that the Tax Law is designed to amplify an "Old Law" and subsequent edicts and reconcile problems which have arisen between published law and "customary practise." Thus, it commences with a series of new provisions (the "New Law") of 137 (G1–93; P2–62); then follows the Old Law (G94–120; P63–73) dated by an otherwise unattested Roman *hegemon* who is seemingly Julio-Claudian and possibly Tiberian; then an undated edict in the Greek alone dealing with sureties and limitations on the authority of the contractor (G121–49); and finally an edict of the governor Mucianus (A.D. 67–9), which includes references to Germanicus (A.D. 18), the governor Corbulo (A.D. 60–3), and other officials who may be procurators, provincial or local (G150–237; P74–151).

As all recent commentators have emphasized, the Tax Law is *not* concerned with the international caravan traffic which was the source of Palmyrene wealth. It is concerned, rather, with the goods and services at Palmyra



itself and the local municipal tax on them. In part 2, chap. 3, T. provides a useful gloss on the various items listed and from which we can glean a great deal about life in this curious, rich, but remote, city. One meets prostitution, peripatetic clothes sellers, imported statues, oil, perfume, hides, fodder, and so on, as well as the care taken with water rights (cf. the important discussion in A. Evenari and others, *The Negev*, 2d ed. [Cambridge, Mass., 1982] and the evidence in some of the documents of the Babatha Archive). Some are goods imported from beyond the Palmyrene; most, however, are almost certainly the produce of the villages and farmsteads of the city's own territory. (It is worth noting that it was apparently only in the Roman period that many of the settlements appeared, as cisterns were dug, and the agricultural regions were developed.)

Illuminating as this evidence is, it is the international caravan traffic which has gripped the imagination and to which T. devotes much of his book. The trade routes are discussed, both those within Palmyrene territory and those beyond, to India and through Arabia. These were ancient routes, but ones which seem to have regained importance in the early Principate, as the traffic further south through the Nabataean state, developed by the encouragement of the Ptolemies, began to decline to the advantage of the Mesene and Palmyrene and of direct commerce between India and Egypt (see now S. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa* [Leiden, 1986]). This is the period too in which we find the earliest Roman contact with India and, perhaps, China, when envoys from the former came to Augustus in 25 and 20 B.C.

The foundations of Palmyrene success in exploiting the opportunities of a rich traffic lay in the abilities of individual Palmyrenes as merchant princes and caravan leaders. The presence of merchants or their agents in Parthian cities is attested, some achieving not only the confidence of the Parthians but even local office (pp. 46–49). The important individuals, however, were the caravan leaders who had to establish the appropriate relations with the desert tribes, organize the logistics of movement of goods from the Lower Euphrates, then to see them transported safely through

the Palmyrene. These were the great figures of the trade and, unsurprisingly, they were fêted and honored by inscriptions and public statues. Several are attested, the most illuminating career being that of Soados; on the one hand, he is said to have received testimonial letters from Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and successive governors of Syria; on the other, he is specifically credited with services to the merchants at Vologesias, a city in which, astonishingly, he dedicated a Temple to the Divine Augusti. Moreover, the statues erected by his fellow citizens to honor him were set up not just in Palmyra and at the caravanserai of Gennaes (probably Umm el-Amad) but in a Parthian city—Vologesias—and in the principal city of the Gulf kingdom of Mesene/Characene—Spasinou Charax (pp. 28 f.).

The securing of the desert routes by men such as Soados had to depend on a mixture of skillful diplomacy and force. For the latter, Palmyra, or perhaps these caravan leaders (appropriately *strategoi*), employed troops, typically mounted archers for the caravans, one assumes, but also static garrisons of archers at certain key points. Texts are again available attesting soldiers at Gamla and Ana and in the eastern desert. (We might add in support of evidence for Palmyrene troops, the force said to have served with Vespasian at Jerusalem, the *Palmyreni sagittarii* named on Roman military discharge diplomas of 121 and 126, and of course the Palmyrene archers at Parthian Dura-Europus, appearing later as the several hundred troops of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum equitata sagittariorum milliaria* employed by the Romans.) Despite T.'s claim that Roman troops were stationed in Palmyra from the Early Principate, there is, in fact, no such evidence until the appearance of an auxiliary garrison under Commodus (Speidel, *Syria* 49 [1972]: 495 ff.).

The frequency of the caravans is discussed at length (pp. 49–54). Twenty-one are attested between A.D. 19 and 269. Strikingly, there are long gaps corresponding to periods of Roman-Parthian wars; T. notes the gap of 86–131 (= Trajan's Parthian War of 113–17) and from 161–93 (= Marcus and Verus's Parthian War of 161–65); we might add the gap of 24–70 (= Neronian wars in the East of 54–63/6) and that of 210–47 (= wars of Cara-

calla and Macrinus of 215–18 and of Severus Alexander of 230–33). We should note, however, the caravans of 193 (the beginning of civil war involving the governor of Syria, and Severus's First Parthian War of 193–95), and of 199 (Severus's Second Parthian War of 198–99). This latter, however, should be treated with caution; it does not attest a caravan in 199 (as T., p. 53) but rather the honoring in that year of a man who had raised expeditions against the nomads and protected the merchants and caravans (*Inv.* X: 44). When is not stated and not even the most recent expedition need be in 199 (pp. 49–54).

T. has several interesting observations and interpretations. He notes that the archons have, unusually for Roman documentary practice, a subordinate role in the preamble to the Tax Law, coming after President, Secretary, and Council, and People. He argues too that this is in fact the sole reference to archons at Palmyra and wonders if they replaced the *argyrotamiai* who are not heard of again after 114 (pp. 61 f.). He notes too that the term senator, *bouleutes*, is not found before 258 just when the administrative character was changing as it became a principality. He rejects the suggestion that *synedros* is simply the usual local synonym, arguing (with the support of L. Robert) that *synedros* represents "counselor," i.e., a member of the *concilium* of the appointed Roman official in the city. Hence, the *praefectus alae* who is *synedros* and honorary citizen in about the time of Hadrian, was in fact being associated with the Roman control of the city rather than the local autonomous administration (pp. 63 f.). Indeed, T. argues forcefully and convincingly, that Rome exercised tight control, the elements of autonomous local government being circumscribed and controlled. He believes, in fact, that the Council may have been no more than the President, Secretary, Archons, and *Dekaprotai* (whom he interprets as Judges or Jurymen). The Palmyrenes, he believes, had control over only their religious life and the "management" of the international economy."

This ties in with T.'s rather more contentious theory that the Tax Law shows signs in its choice of phrase or vocabulary of a Latin original. Neither Matthews (*Journal of Roman Studies* 74 [1984]: 175, n. 9) nor Bowersock

(*Classical Philology* 82 [1987]: 180) have been convinced by his linguistic evidence, but we might note that T. also sees a Roman draft behind the treatment of the salt tax (p. 30) and references to slaves (p. 83); there is much to be said on grounds of general likelihood for the original document being in Latin.

Minor points: T.'s assertion (p. 71) that the great dam at Harbaqa was Roman work built with Palmyrene financing seems founded on no more than the subjective view of the character of the masonry as supposed by other commentators. His suggestion that the omission of Severus's victory titles of 195 from an official inscription in the Palmyra agora was for diplomatic reasons and may have soured relations with the emperor does not seem necessary or plausible. Leuke Kome (fig. 3 and p. 43), should probably be located at Aynunah, near the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba (L. Kirwan in *Studies in the History of Arabia*, vol. 2, *Pre-Islamic Arabia* [Riyadh, 1984], pp. 55–61; cf. M. Ingraham et al., *Atlatl* 5 [1981]: 77 f.). Directions can be misleading: the Euphrates turns SE not S, Qa'ara and Mlosi are SE not S; Emesa is W not NW; and Damascus and the Hauran are SW not S (pp. 7 f.). T. informs us (p. 23) that the most direct route from Palmyra to Ctesiphon and the Mesene was via Umm el-Amad, Umm es-Selabikh, Qasr Swab, Qasr Helqun, and across the Qa'ara Depression to fetch up at Ana on the Euphrates. T.'s own map (p. 22, fig. 2) shows the route running to Hit. Ana is indeed due east of Palmyra but a "direct" route would have to run via Dura-Europus (a known route) or to Anqa (not known), both then involving a journey downstream to reach Ana. It has been shown too by Stein (S. Gregory and D. Kennedy, *Sir Aurel Stein's Limes Report*, BAR Int. Ser., vol. 272 [Oxford, 1985], pp. 202 ff. sq.), that the route from Palmyra to Hit ran not via Qasr Helqun—which in fact lies outside the Qa'ara Depression and may be post-Roman in any case—but across its center. (There is a typing error: p. 10, l. 13: A.D. 11/12 should be 11/17.)

This is an important and valuable discussion both of the local economic life of Palmyra and its international commerce. T. draws widely on evidence from other areas and periods in his efforts to illuminate his subject, usually

very effectively. One is left with the impression of a city which is undoubtedly one of the strangest of the Empire; not just its remote and romantic location, and its "classical" appearance, but with its curious political set-up, its direct involvement in Parthia, and its own armed forces. Much is reminiscent of the character of an allied native state, and it seems appropriate that in the mid-third century, as one of its families came to dominate, that is exactly what emerged. This change in character, and the violent Palmyrene outburst which followed, may be explained in terms of lost trade and economic decline. It may be no coincidence that the Severan period which saw a succession of Parthian wars and the likely disruption of trade through Babylonia in particular, was also the period in which the family of Odaenathus rose to dominance at Palmyra, and Roman interest in the direct overland route from the Gulf via Jauf and the Azraq Oasis is most noticeable. It may be the evidence of a growing political crisis and a conscious attempt to gain control of a different land route avoiding Parthian territory.

DAVID KENNEDY

*University of Sheffield/  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton*

---

*Essays on Anatolian Studies in the Second Millennium B.C.* Edited by H. I. H. PRINCE TAKAHITO MIKASA. Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, vol. 3. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988. Pp. vii + 85. DM 58.

This thin volume presents the texts of four lectures delivered in Tokyo in 1983 by well-known Anatolianists, in some instances reworked for publication. The contents are: T. Özgüç, "Kültepe and Anatolian Archaeology—Relating to the Old Assyrian Period"; N. Özgüç, "Anatolian Cylinder Seals and Impressions from Kültepe and Acemhöyük in the Second Millennium B.C."; A. Kammenhuber, "On Hittites, Mitanni-Hurrians, Indo-Aryans and Horse Tablets in the II<sup>nd</sup>

Millennium B.C."; and A. Ünal, "The Role of Magic in the Ancient Anatolian Religions according to the Cuneiform Texts from Boğazköy-Ḫattuša." The contributions by T. and N. Özgüç are illustrated by a total of twenty-one excellent photographs of archaeological material from the excavations at Kültepe.

Since these talks were intended for a general audience, they offer primarily summaries of the current state of knowledge in each particular area rather than reconsiderations of the problems or new primary material. As such, they should have been ideal for use in introductory courses, but the awkward, unidiomatic English of most of the contributors combined with extremely poor proofreading will certainly put off the beginner. More careful editing was definitely called for.

I add a few specific comments here.

*Pp. 19 and 21:* figures 11 and 13 have been interchanged.

*Pp. 44 ff.:* the reader is given a misleading impression of the state of opinion concerning the dating and interrelationship of the horse training instructions through the suppression of all works of H. Otten, O. Carruba, and E. Neu from the bibliography to Kammenhuber's contribution. Needless to say, the work of the "Marburg school" is also ignored in the body of the essay. As a corrective, see E. Neu, "Zur Datierung der hethitischen Pferdetexte," in Harry A. Hoffner and Gary Beckman, eds., *Kaniššuar: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-fifth Birthday*, AS 23 (Chicago, 1986), pp. 151–63.

*Pp. 54 ff.:* consideration of the writings of British anthropologists such as E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Mary Douglas, and Victor Turner on the social role of magic would have added to Ünal's analysis of Hittite magical compositions.

*Pp. 70 ff. and 76 ff.:* the listing of situations for which magic was employed in Hittite texts and the collection of numerous instances of analogic incantations will be of great use to specialists in the study of Hittite religion.

GARY BECKMAN

*Yale University*



## BOOKS RECEIVED

- ANDERSEN, FRANCIS I. and FREEDMAN, DAVID NOEL. *Amos: A New Translation and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 24A. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1989. Pp. xlii + 979. \$30.
- An Index to English Periodical Literature on the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 3. ATLA Bibliographical Series, no. 21. Metuchen, New Jersey and London: The American Theological Library Association and Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1990. Pp. xxxvii + 783. \$79.50.
- ARNOLD, PATRICK M. *Gibeah: The Search for the Biblical City*. JSOT Supplement Series 79. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. 196. \$43.
- BAHAT, DAN and RUBENSTEIN, CHAIM T. *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*. Translated by Shlomo Ketko. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989 and 1990. Pp. 152. \$95.
- BALDICK, JULIAN. *Mystical Islam: An Introduction to Sufism*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1989. Pp. 208. \$35 (cloth), \$15 (paperback).
- BARBOUR, IAN G. *Religion in an Age of Science: The Gifford Lectures, 1989-1991*. Vol. 1. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. Pp. xv + 297. \$22.95.
- BARDINET, THIERRY. *Dents et mâchoires dans les représentations religieuses et la pratique médicale de l'Égypte ancienne*. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 15. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1990. Pp. xxii + 280. 31,500 lire.
- BEGLEY, W. E. and DESAI, Z. A., compl. and trans. *Taj Mahal The Illumined Tomb: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Mughal and European Documentary Sources*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989. Pp. lvi + 320 + 167 figs. \$45 (cloth), \$29.95 (paperback).
- BLOCK, DANIEL ISAAC. *The Gods of the Nations: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology*. Evangelical Theological Society Monograph Series, no. 2. Jackson, Mississippi: Evangelical Theological Society, 1988. Pp. xiv + 214. \$13.95.
- BOKSENBOIM, YACOV, ed. *Minutes Book of the Jewish Community of Verona 1600-1630*. Sources of the History of Italian Jews, vol. 3. Tel Aviv: The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1990. Pp. 454 (Hebrew).
- BORDREUIL, PIERRE and PARDEE, DENNIS. *La Trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1: Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 5. Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Mémoire, no. 86. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1989. Pp. 457. 225 francs.
- BOWERSOCK, G. W. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures 18. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990. Pp. xii + 109. \$24.95.
- BROOKS, ROGER. *The Spirit of the Ten Commandments: Shattering the Myth of Rabbinic Legalism*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. Pp. xiv + 199. \$21.95.
- BURRELL, DAVID B. and MCGINN, BERNARD, eds. *God and Creation: An Ecumenical Symposium*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990. Pp. xii + 328. \$29.95.
- CAUBET, ANNIE. *Aux sources du monde arabe: L'Arabie avant l'Islam*. Collections du Musée du Louvre. Paris: Institut du Monde Arabe and Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1990. Pp. 112 + 59 pls. 100 francs.
- COOK, EDWARD M., ed. *Sopher Mahir: Northwest Semitic Studies Presented to Stanislaw Segert*. MAARAV 5-6. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990. Pp. 384. \$27.50.
- DAMEROW, PETER and ENGLUND, R. *The Proto-Elamite Texts from Tepe Yahya*. The American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin 39. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1989. Pp. xiv + 78 + 34 figs. + 6 pls. \$15.
- DAVIS, WHITNEY. *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. xx + 272. \$60.
- DAY, JOHN. *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. ix + 115. \$32.50.
- DESCOEDRES, JEAN-PAUL, ed. *Mediterranean Archaeology: Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World*. Vol. 1, 1988. Pp. 227. Vol. 2, 1989. Pp. 211.



- DRESCH, PAUL. *Tribes, Government and History in Yemen*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Pp. xxix + 440. \$79.
- DYSON, ROBERT H., JR. and VOIGT, MARY M., eds. *Expedition*, vol. 31, nos. 2-3 ("East of Assyria: The Highland Settlement of Hasanlu"). Pp. 127. \$11.
- EGGEBRECHT, ARNE and SCHMITZ, BETTINA, eds. *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 30. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1990. Pp. xxvii + 264 + 19 pls. DM 55.
- ESKHULT, MAX. *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose*. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 12. Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1990. S.Kr. 108.
- FEGHALI, HABAKA J. *Moroccan Arabic Reader*. Wheaton, Maryland: Dunwoody Press, 1989. Pp. xi + 143. \$32.
- FRASCATI, AUGUSTO, trans. *Erodoto: Le Storie, Volume II: Libro II: L'Egitto*. Scrittori Greci e Latini. Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1989. Pp. lxxxii + 417. 45,000 lire.
- GIMARET, DANIEL. *La Doctrine d'al-Ash'ari*. Patrimoine d'Islam. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1990. 295 francs.
- GORMAN, FRANK H., JR. *The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology*. JSOT Supplement Series 91. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. 259. \$52.50.
- GRABAR, OLEG. *The Great Mosque of Isfahan*. Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization. New York and London: New York University Press, 1990. Pp. x + 141 + 52 figs. \$35.
- GRAMLICH, RICHARD. *Schlaglichter über das Sufitum: Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāḡs Kitāb al-luma' eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert*. Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 13. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990. Pp. 676. DM 270.
- GURALNICK, ELEANOR, ed. *The Ancient Eastern Mediterranean: Papers Presented at a Symposium to Celebrate the Centennial Year of the Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute of America*. Chicago: The Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1990. Pp. xii + 73 + 54 figs.
- GÜTERBOCK, HANS G. and HOFFNER, HARRY A., eds. *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Vol. L-N, fasc. 4. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990. Pp. xxx + 353-477. \$30.
- HENRICKSON, ELIZABETH F. and THUESEN, INGOLF, eds. *Upon this Foundation—the 'Ubaid Reconsidered: Proceedings from the 'Ubaid Symposium Elsinore May 30th-June 1st, 1988*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 10. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1989. Pp. 478. D.Kr. 500.
- HILL, H. D.; JACOBSEN, TH.; and DELOUGAZ, P. *Old Babylonian Buildings in the Diyala Region*. Oriental Institute Publications 98. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago, 1990. Pp. xxxiii + 258 + 68 pls. \$38.
- HOBSON, CHRISTINE. *The World of the Pharaohs: A Complete Guide to Ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987 and 1990 (paperback). Pp. 192. \$14.95.
- HOLMBERG, BO, ed. *A Treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar (d. 872)*. Lund Series in African and Asian Religions, vol. 3. Lund: Plus Ultra, 1989. Pp. 288 + 6 pls.
- HUOT, JEAN-LOUIS, ed. *Larsa: Travaux de 1985*. Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Mémoire, no. 83. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1989. Pp. 195 + 1 fold-out plan + 84 (Arabic). 295 francs.
- HUOT, JEAN-LOUIS; THALMANN, JEAN-PAUL; and VALBELLE, DOMINIQUE. *Naissance des cités*. Paris: Editions Nathan, 1990. Pp. 351. 198 francs.
- HUGHES, JEREMY. *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology*. JSOT Supplement Series 66. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. xiv + 315. \$60.
- IBRAHIM, MOAWIYAH M., ed. *Arabian Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Ghul: Symposium at Yarmouk University, December 8-11, 1984*. Yarmouk University Publications, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Series, vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989. Pp. 177 (English) + 163 (Arabic). DM 168.
- KÁKOSY, LÁSZLÓ. *Zauberei im alten Ägypten*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989. Pp. 267 + 33 figs. \$19.
- KENNEDY, DAVID and RILEY, DERRICK. *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Pp. 256 + 188 figs. \$42.50.
- KETTEL, JEANNOT. *Jean-François Champollion Le Jeune: Répertoire de bibliographie analytique*. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Nouvelle Série, vol. 10. Paris: Boccard, 1990. Pp. vii + 293.
- KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesseide Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. 8, fascs. 3-7. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1990. Fasc 3, pp. 65-96; fasc. 4, pp. 97-128; fasc. 5, pp. 129-60; fasc. 6, pp. 161-92; fasc. 7, pp. 193-224. £4 (each fasc.).
- KILLICK, R. G., ed. *Excavations at Tell Rubeidheh: An Uruk Village in the Jebel Hamrin*. Iraq Archaeological Reports 2. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988. Pp. x + 182 + 52 figs. + 10 pls + 22 (Arabic). \$70.

- KNAPP, A. BERNARD. *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt*. Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1988. Pp. xxxvi + 284.
- KOOPMANS, WILLIAM T. *Joshua 24 as Poetic Narrative*. JSOT Supplement Series 93. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. xv + 522. \$52.50.
- KRUCHTEN, JEAN-MARIE. *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXII<sup>mes</sup> Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiations des prêtres d'Amon*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 32. Leuven: Department Orientalistik, 1989. Pp. xii + 305 + 32 pls.
- LEWIS, BERNARD. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Pp. viii + 184 + 24 pls. \$24.95.
- LEXA, FRANTIŠEK. *Zakladatel České Egyptologie. Velké Osobnosti-Filozofické Fakulty Univerzity Karlovy 2*. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1989. Pp. 202 + 14 pls. Brož 20,- Kčs.
- MALAMAT, ABRAHAM. *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience*. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1984. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. xii + 161 + 8 pls. \$45.
- MARAQTEN, MOHAMMED. *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichs-aramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*. Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, vol. 5. Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 1988. Pp. 250. DM 39.80.
- MARTIN, GEOFFREY THORNDIKE and LEHNER, MARK. *The Royal Tomb at Tell El-Amarna, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna, Part VII, II: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Architecture*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Thirty-Ninth Memoir. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989. Pp. xxii + 71 + 91 pls.
- MAZAR, AMIHAI. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1990. Pp. xxx + 575. \$30.
- MORALES, VIVIAN BROMAN. *Figurines and Other Clay Objects from Sarab and Çayönü*. Oriental Institute Communications, no. 25. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990. Pp. xv + 92 + 30 pls. \$15.
- MORGAN, DAVID. *The Mongols. The Peoples of Europe*. Oxford and Cambridge: B. H. Blackwell, 1986 and 1990 (paperback). Pp. xviii + 238.
- NICCACCI, ALVIERO. *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. JSOT Supplement Series 86. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. 218. \$50.
- NORTHEDGE, A.; BAMBER, A.; ROAF, M. *Excavations at Ana: Qal'a Island*. Iraq Archaeological Reports I. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988. Pp. xi + 145 + 56 figs. + 16 pls. + 19 (Arabic). \$70.
- OBERHUBER, KARL. *Sumerisches Lexikon zu "George Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit (Berlin 1896)" und zu verwandten Texten*. Innsbrucker Sumerisches Lexikon (ISL) des Instituts für Sprachen und Kulturen des Alten Orients an der Universität Innsbruck, pt. 1, Sumerisches Lexikon zu zweisprachigen literarischen Texten, vol. 1. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1990. Pp. vii + 583. öS 1,600.
- OTZEN, BENEDIKT. *Judaism in Antiquity: Political Development and Religious Currents from Alexander to Hadrian*. The Biblical Seminar, vol. 7. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. 243. \$50 (cloth), \$15.95 (paperback).
- PALMER, ANDREW. *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur 'Abdin*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. xxiv + 265 + 58 figs. and microfiche. \$65.
- PODELLA, THOMAS. *Şöm-Fasten: Kollektive Trauer um den verborgenen Gott im Alten Testament*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, vol. 224. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989. Pp. xi + 327. DM 88.
- RIDGWAY, BRUNHILDE SISMONDO. *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331-200 B.C*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. Pp. xxvi + 405 + 187 pls. \$35.
- RIPPIN, ANDREW. *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. Vol. 1. *The Formative Period*. The Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices. London and New York: Routledge, 1990. Pp. xviii + 155. \$47.50 (cloth), \$14.95 (paperback).
- ROBERTS, ROBERT. *The Social Laws of the Qurân Considered, and Compared with Those of the Hebrew and Other Ancient Codes*. London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, 1990. Pp. x + 125. \$9.95.
- ROSENBAUM, STANLEY N. *Amos of Israel: A New Interpretation*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1990. Pp. xii + 129. \$25.
- SACHS, ABRAHAM J. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vol. 2. *Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C.* Completed and edited by HERMANN HUNGER. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften, 210. Band. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989. Pp. 499 (text vol.) + 95 pls. (in separate vol.). öS 980, DM 140.
- SAUNERON, SERGE. *Un Traité égyptien d'ophiologie: Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum No. 47.218.48*

- et .85. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale, vol. 11. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1989. Pp. xi + 243 + 23 pls.
- SCHIMMEL, ANNEMARIE. *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture*. Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization. New York: New York University Press, 1984. Pp. xiv + 264.
- SCHRETTER, MANFRED K. *Emesal Studien: Sprach- und literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Frauensprache des Sumerischen*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1990. Pp. x + 297. öS 640.
- SCHUTZ, ALFRED and LUCKMAN, THOMAS. *The Structures of the Life-World*. Vol. 2. Translated by Richard M. Zaner and David J. Parent. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1989. Pp. xvi + 335. \$49.95 (cloth), \$17.95 (paperback).
- SELB, WALTER. *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*. Vol. 2. *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrier (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-hist. Kl. Sitzungsberichte, 548. Band. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989. Pp. 309 + 1 fold-out map. öS 560, DM 80.
- SODEN, WOLFRAM VON. *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babyloniens*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 32. Naples: University of Naples, 1990. Pp. x + 368.
- SOKOLOFF, MICHAEL. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum II. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1990. Pp. 823.
- TEUBAL, SAVINA J. *Hagar the Egyptian: The Lost Tradition of the Matriarchs*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. Pp. xliv + 226 + 16 pls. \$19.95.
- WILLIAMS, BRUCE BEYER. *Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Napatan Remains at Qustul: Cemeteries W and V*. Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, pt. 7. Campagne Internationale pour la Sauvegarde des Monuments de la Nubie, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, vol. 7. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990. Pp. xxvii + 83 + 33 figs. + 15 pls. \$20.
- WISE, MICHAEL OWEN. *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 49. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990. Pp. xvii + 292. \$25.
- YAMAUCHI, EDWIN M. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1990. Pp. 578.
- YOUNGER, K. LAWSON, JR. *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing*. JSOT Supplement Series 98. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. 392. \$52.50.
- ZACCAGNINI, CARLO, ed. *Production and Consumption: Essays Collected by C. Zaccagnini*. Budapest: University of Budapest, Egyptological Department, 1989. Pp. viii + 341. 500 florins.

# Indo-Iranian Journal

## Editors-in-Chief

**J. W. de Jong**, *Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia*; **M. Witzel**, *Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, USA*

*Indo-Iranian Journal*, in the three decades since its inception, has published leading and authoritative papers on ancient and medieval Indian languages, literature, philosophy and religion, ancient and medieval Iran, and papers on Tibet. Archeological and specific historical studies are normally excluded.

Recent issues of *Indo-Iranian Journal* have contained linguistic articles on Sanskrit, Middle Indian (Pakrit), New-Indo-Aryan, on Munda linguistics (including the results of fieldwork), old and modern Dravidian languages (including new material on little-known Central Dravidian languages).

*Indo-Iranian Journal* also contains many reviews of new publications, and lists many more publications received.

## Subscription Information

**ISSN** 0019-7246

1990, Volume 33 (4 issues)

Subscription rate: Dfl.268.00 / US\$125.50  
*incl. postage/handling*

P.O. Box 322, 3300 AH Dordrecht, The Netherlands  
P.O. Box 358, Accord Station, Hingham, MA 02018-0358, U.S.A.

## Journal Highlight

**KLUWER  
ACADEMIC  
PUBLISHERS**





For unique coverage of the field's full range

## **Current Anthropology**

**Spanning national and disciplinary traditions,**

**Current Anthropology** offers readers original articles and critical commentary related to topics throughout the human sciences. Regardless of your specialization, you'll find new methods, new approaches, new theories to further your own research.

**Featuring a remarkable range of contributors,**

**Current Anthropology** keeps you abreast of new works by leading scholars from around the world. And **CA's** interviews give you rare, personal profiles of such influential colleagues as Fei Xiaoting, Koentjaraningrat, Phillip Tobias, P. E. de Josselin de Jong, and Chie Nakane.

**Encouraging dialogue and debate,**

**Current Anthropology** presents a regular section of Discussion and Criticism to aid in the analysis of controversial points throughout the field. As the intersections of various subdisciplines are highlighted, you'll be stimulated by the critical thought that follows. Other regular features include multi-reviews of significant books, anthropological new items, and conference reports.

*Adam Kuper, Editor*

*Sponsored by The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research*

*Published five times a year by The University of Chicago Press*

**Regular one-year subscription rates:**

	A*	B**
Individuals	\$ 42.00	\$23.00
Institutions	110.00	50.00
Students (with ID)	24.00	13.00
Retired	30.00	15.00

\* Rate A: U.S., Canada, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, New Caledonia, Japan, Puerto Rico, Bahrain, Kuwait, Abu-Dhabi, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Hong Kong, USSR

\*\* Rate B: All other countries

Order through your local bookseller, or send payment in U.S. currency (Visa, MasterCard, or equivalent credit payments accepted) to **The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SF1SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637, USA.**

Serving the needs of  
classicists for more  
than eighty years

# Classical Philology

Look to *Classical  
Philology* for

**thoughtful analyses**

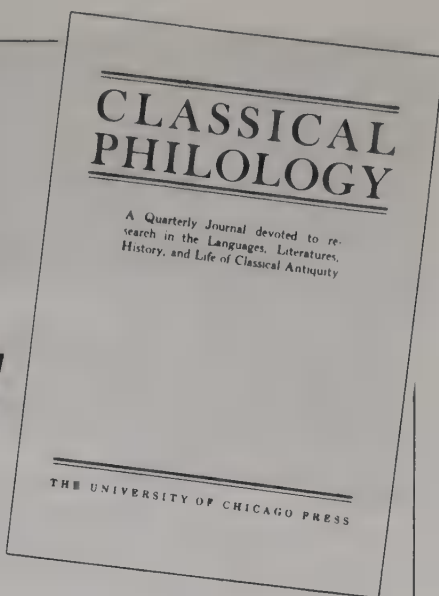
Devoted to research in the languages, literatures, history, and life of classical antiquity, *Classical Philology* brings you up-to-date on the work of internationally respected scholars. The journal publishes the best of traditional literary and linguistic analysis in essays that you will refer to again and again.

**contextual awareness**

Contributors to *Classical Philology* examine the historical and social background of classical works in an effort to illuminate other aspects of the ancient world. Many also employ the methods of anthropology and sociology, further exploring the context of Greek and Latin texts.

**stimulating dialogues**

*Classical Philology* keeps you abreast of current debates and points of discussion among classicists, making you part of a vital forum. In addition to the major articles, you'll find substantial book reviews in each issue, helping you identify works of value to you.



#### *Regular One-Year Subscription Rates*

Individuals \$30.00; Students (with copy of validated ID) \$22.00; Institutions \$56.00. **Outside USA**, please add \$3.00 for postage. **MasterCard** and **Visa** accepted. To order, send check, purchase order, or complete credit card information to **The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SW05A, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637.**

Bringing you critical scholarship on modern Europe from a social, intellectual, political, and economic perspective

## THE JOURNAL OF MODERN HISTORY

### ***A Broad Scope: European History from 1500 to the Present***

Founded in 1929, *The Journal of Modern History* is recognized as the leading American journal for the study of European intellectual, political, and cultural history. The *Journal's* geographical and temporal sweep—the history of the European continent, including Russia and the Balkans, since the Renaissance—makes it unique in scope.

### ***A Diversity of Approaches: Primary Research, Historiographical Essays, and Book Reviews***

Combining both “traditional” and “innovative” ways of writing history, the *JMH* presents a diversity of scholarly perspectives and orientations and assesses trends and developments in historiography. As the premier reviewing journal for European history, it will save you time and money in your search for relevant books.

### ***An Occasional Special Issue or Supplement:***

*JMH* devotes special issues and supplements to important examinations or re-examinations of crucial topics such as: Imperial Russian and Soviet History (1990), French Politics in 1788 (1988), National Socialism (1987), Politics and Society in the Holy Roman Empire (1986), and Political Practice in the French Revolution (1984).

Edited by John W. Boyer and Julius Kirshner

Published quarterly by The University of Chicago Press

**Regular one-year subscription rates:** Individuals \$28.50; AHA Individual Members \$21.50; HA Individual Members (Great Britain) \$21.50; Students (with copy of ID) \$21.50; Institutions \$57.00. Outside USA add \$6.00 for postage. Visa and MasterCard accepted. To order send complete credit card information or payment in U.S. dollars to The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SS1SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637.

**Charting the changing  
currents of contemporary  
religious thought with  
authority and vigor:**

# ***The Journal of Religion***

**THE  
JOURNAL  
OF  
RELIGION**

## **A diversity of approaches**

Designed to promote critical and systematic inquiry into religion, ***The Journal of Religion*** presents original scholarship and critical commentary from contributors throughout theology and other areas of religious studies. Your personal subscription will bring you significant new writing on

biblical interpretation  
hermeneutics  
ethics and values  
constructive theology

literary studies  
psychology and religion  
the philosophy, sociology,  
and history of religion

## **A distinguished tradition of quality**

Founded in 1882 by William Rainey Harper, ***The Journal of Religion*** is the oldest journal of theological studies in North America. A publication of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, this fully-peer-reviewed quarterly has published the works of such highly regarded authors as

Rebecca Chopp

Marilyn Chapin Massey

Paul Ricoeur

Richard Bernstein

Gene Outka

Lawrence E. Sullivan

Martin E. Marty

Wolfhart Pannenberg

Ann Taves

## **With critical commentary on today's scholarship**

To help you keep pace with individual works and emerging currents in religious studies, ***The Journal of Religion*** presents important review articles that continually assess the state of the field. Each issue also brings you some 40 book reviews and book notes, assessing a wide range of English and foreign-language books from many areas of religious studies.

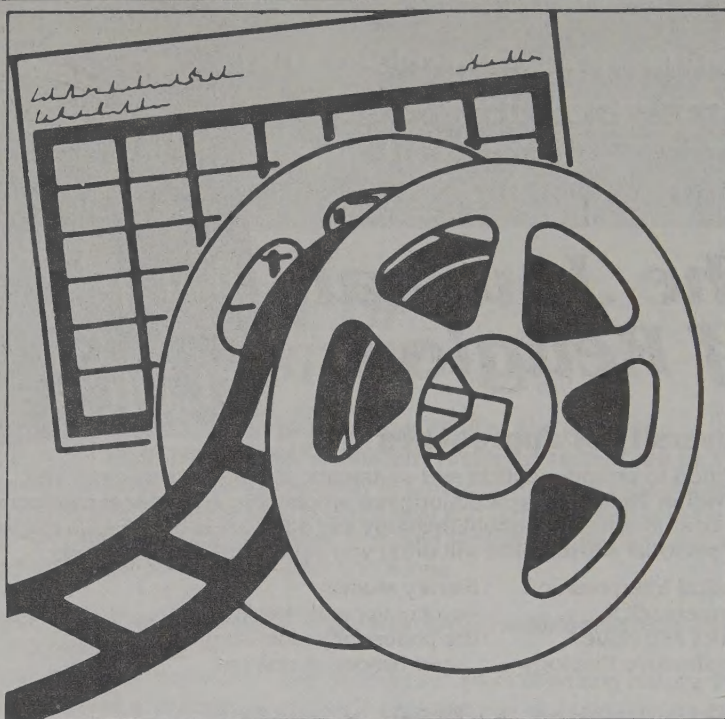
*Don S. Browning, Anne E. Carr, and Robin W. Lovin, editors*

*Published quarterly by*

**The University of Chicago Press**

**Regular one-year subscription rates:** Individuals \$22, Institutions \$37, Students (with copy of validated ID) \$16, UC Divinity School Alumni \$16.00. *Outside USA*, please add \$4 for postage. Visa and MasterCard payments accepted. To order, send check, purchase order, or complete credit card information to The University of Chicago Press, Journals Division, Dept. SF1SA, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, IL 60637.





## **Back issues of this title available in microform**

Send for our new catalogue.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Title \_\_\_\_\_

Institution \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Kraus Microform** \_\_\_\_\_

Route 100, Millwood, NY 10546

(914) 762-2200

A Division of Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd

---

## New from CALIFORNIA

---

### **The Vanished Library**

A Wonder of the Ancient World  
**LUCIANO CANFORA**

Translated by Martin Ryle  
"Canfora guides us through the labyrinth of traditions about the library, reawakening for us the myth of the world's memory safeguarded in a single place for an élite of intellectuals."

—*Préfaces*, Paris

"An extraordinarily innovative work of ancient history."

—*London Review of Books*

"This mystery has awaited, for a long time, a historian with the temperament of a writer as well as that of a scholar, and it has found its ideal match in Luciano Canfora."—*La Stampa*, Turin

*Hellenistic Culture and Society*  
A Wake Forest University  
Stadium Book  
\$19.95 cl, \$11.95 paper

### **Muslim Travellers**

Pilgrimage,  
Migration, and the  
Religious  
Imagination

**DALE F. EICKELMAN  
& JAMES PISCATORI,**  
Editors

Focusing on travel in Muslim societies from Malaysia to West Africa to Western Europe from the first centuries of Islam to the present, the contributors to this edition investigate the role of religious doctrine in motivating travel. While pilgrimage is usually seen as travel with a uniquely religious purpose, this exploration of the role of travel in Muslim societies and in Islamic doctrine shows that other forms of travel also shape the religious imagination.

*Comparative Studies in Muslim Societies*

\$45.00 cl, \$14.95 paper

### **Poverty and Charity in Roman Palestine, First Three Centuries C.E.**

**GILDAS HAMEL**

This contribution to the social and religious history of Roman Palestine focuses on the concrete manifestations of poverty, its causes, and the contrasting images Jews and Greeks had of the phenomenon. Judaism and Christianity encouraged charitable practices that seem progressive when compared with Greco-Roman attitudes. However, their definitions of poverty often included practical or ideological criteria that prevented distribution of social aid to many needy people.

Volume 23, *University of California Publications: Near Eastern Studies*  
\$31.00 paper

---

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657. Visa & MasterCard only.

**University of California Press**  
Berkeley 94720

---



The Journal of the History of Ideas  
The Journal of the History of Literature  
The Journal of the History of Philosophy  
The Journal of the History of Psychology  
The Journal of the History of Education  
The Journal of the History of Mathematics  
The Journal of the History of Science  
The Journal of the History of Medicine  
The Journal of the History of Art  
The Journal of the History of Music  
The Journal of the History of Religion  
The Journal of the History of Social Science  
The Journal of the History of Economics  
The Journal of the History of Geography  
The Journal of the History of Law  
The Journal of the History of Politics  
The Journal of the History of Sociology  
The Journal of the History of Anthropology  
The Journal of the History of Linguistics  
The Journal of the History of Literature in English  
The Journal of the History of Literature in French  
The Journal of the History of Literature in German  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Italian  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Spanish  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Portuguese  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Russian  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Chinese  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Japanese  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Korean  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Vietnamese  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Thai  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Indonesian  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Malaysian  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Singapore  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Hong Kong  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Taiwan  
The Journal of the History of Literature in South Korea  
The Journal of the History of Literature in North Korea  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Vietnam  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Laos  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Cambodia  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Thailand  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Myanmar  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Sri Lanka  
The Journal of the History of Literature in India  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Pakistan  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Bangladesh  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Nepal  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Bhutan  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Tibet  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Mongolia  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Inner Mongolia  
The Journal of the History of Literature in Xinjiang

## Catalog today

Since 1891, **The University**  
 standards of scholarship.

S

nal journals—write to: Sandra Willis,  
Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue,

For a complete catalog—or brochures on individual journals—write to: Sandra Willis, Circulation Department, The University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637 USA